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National Civic Federation

Prison reform

[New York]

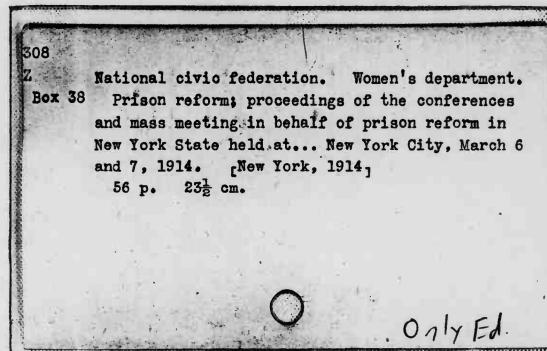
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Prof. E. B. A. Seligman

WOMAN'S DEPARTMENT
THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION
NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY SECTION

PRISON REFORM

Proceedings of the
Conferences and Mass Meeting in behalf of
Prison Reform in New York State

Held at Astor Hotel and Carnegie Hall

New York City

March 6 and 7, 1914

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WOMAN'S DEPARTMENT
OF
THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION

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INTRODUCTION

The Woman's Department of the National Civic Federation became interested in the need for prison reform through the work done by its District of Columbia Section in bringing about the reconstruction of the Washington jail. Miss Maude Wetmore, who is now Chairman of the Woman's Department, was then the Chairman of the Jail Committee of the District of Columbia. It was the report of this Committee, made to Mr. Wickesham, then United States Attorney General, that brought about the improvement in conditions there. Roused to a personal interest in the situation by the Committee's report, Mr. Wickesham obtained from Congress an appropriation of \$40,000 for the complete reconstruction of the interior of the jail. Warden McKee at the same time thoroughly reorganized its administration.

The work to accomplish this result in a Federal prison disclosed the need for arousing national interest and thus developing a movement which should bring together all parts of the country in a united effort toward prison reform. For this national work the Woman's Department was especially fitted on account of its cooperation with many existing organizations. It therefore urged its various sections to get in touch with the organizations for prison reform in their districts. The New York and New Jersey Section began work at once, and other sections are about to take their part in this national movement.

The New York and New Jersey Section began its work by endeavoring to learn the extent of the opportunity for educational work and propaganda in its district. Its first action was to call two conferences and a mass meeting on March 6 and 7, 1914.

Mrs. Francis McNeil Bacon, Jr., Chairman of the New York and New Jersey Section, Woman's Department of the National Civic Federation, presided at both Conferences, held at the Astor Hotel, the first on Friday, March 6th, and the second on Saturday morning, March 7th.

The speakers on Friday afternoon were the Hon. Wm. Church Osborn, Dr. Katharine B. Davis, Hon. John B. Riley, Dr. O. F. Lewis, Mrs. Martha Falconer, and Dr. E. Stagg Whitin.

On Friday evening, at Carnegie Hall, Governor Martin H. Glynn presided. The speakers were Governor Oswald West, Dr. Frank Moore, Dr. J. T. Gilmour, Mr. John J. Manning, and the Hon. Thomas Mott Osborne.

On Saturday morning, at the final Conference, the speakers were Mrs. William Emerson, Mrs. Caroline B. Alexander, Hon. Joseph P. Byers, Hon. Harry B. Winters, Prof. Franklin H. Briggs, Brother Barnabas, Mrs. Francis McNeil Bacon, Jr., Chairman of the New York and New Jersey Section, Woman's Department of the National Civic Federation, presided. The speakers were Governor Oswald West, Dr. Frank Moore, Dr. J. T. Gilmour, Mr. John J. Manning, and the Hon. Thomas Mott Osborne.

Governor Oswald West, Dr. J. T. Gilmour, Dr. E. Stagg Whitin, Dr. O. F. Lewis, and Mrs. Lindon W. Bates.

At the conclusion of this meeting Mrs. Bates proposed the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, that the Chairman appoint, as promptly as possible, a committee consisting of representatives of organizations participating in these two days' conferences and members of the Woman's Department of the National Civic Federation; this committee to develop a constructive legislative program and campaign of education on prison reform throughout the state.

A few days later, on the invitation of the Chairman, a meeting was held, at which a permanent organization, to be known as the **JOINT COMMITTEE ON PRISON REFORM**, was formed, with the following membership:

Mrs. CAROLINE B. ALEXANDER
(New York and New Jersey Section, Woman's Department, National Civic Federation.)

Mrs. FRANCIS MCNIEL BACON, JR.
(Chairman, New York and New Jersey Section, Woman's Department, National Civic Federation.)

Mrs. AUGUST BELMONT
(New York and New Jersey Section, Woman's Department, National Civic Federation.)

FRANKLIN H. BRIGGS
(Superintendent, New York State Training School for Boys.)

MISS EMILY CROSS
(New York and New Jersey Section, Woman's Department, National Civic Federation.)

Miss KATHERINE B. DAVIS
(Commissioner of Correction, New York City.)

Mrs. WILLIAM EMERSON
(1st Director, Women's Prison Association.)

FRANCIS C. HUNTINGTON
(Vice-President, State Commission of Prisons, New York.)

RICHARD M. HYDE
(Chairman, Executive Committee, Prison Association of New York.)

GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY
(Chairman, Legal Committee, National Committee on Prison Labor.)

On April 9th, the Committee met and adopted a comprehensive program. The Committee also appointed Mr. Alexander Cleland as Secretary, with a view to carrying it out.

The program adopted by the Committee is as follows:

The Joint Committee on Prison Reform regard the propositions embodied in the following statement as basic in any plan for improvement in administration, methods, and surroundings in the care and treatment of persons confined in correctional institutions:

GENERAL

1. The elimination of politics from the management of correctional institutions.
2. The development of character and self-control in the prisoner through the honor system, and a larger degree of self-government within correctional institutions.
3. The study and further development of the principle of the indeterminate sentence.
4. The development of farm industrial prisons and other modern correctional institutions.
5. The development of the State-use system of prison labor throughout the country in order to develop the best that is in the prisoner and at the same time conserve the interest of the State.
6. Co-operation to secure Federal legislation which will make possible an effective State-use system in every State.
7. The application of proper rules regarding just compensation of prisoners in all correctional institutions, with a view to creating an interest in the prisoner in his work and sense of responsibility for the support of himself and his family, and ability to provide such support.
8. The establishment and improvement of prison schools for instruction in elementary subjects in correlation with industrial education.
9. Specialized treatment of tramps, vagrants, inebriates, feeble-minded, and youthful misdemeanants.

STATE

1. Improvement in administration.

(Note)—In New York State to-day improvements in management is far more vital than improvement in material appliances. And that does not mean that the latter is not also important.

The most perfectly constructed prison that modern science can invent will not reform the criminal unless it is run by a warden who has high executive ability and has also a heart and a personality that can win the confidence both of the guards and the prisoners.

2. The State management of all County Penitentiaries.

(Note)—The five county penitentiaries in this State are an anomaly. Each one serves not only its own county, but many surrounding counties, and performs a State function. The penitentiaries should be taken over and managed by the State.

3. The State care of all persons convicted of crime. County jails to be used only as places of detention.

(Note)—The present county management is, in general, deplorable. Prisons are usually kept in idleness and herded together without adequate supervision, and for the greater part of the day with none.

The county jail should be used only as a place of detention for persons accused of crime. Convicted prisoners should be in State institutions.

4. The development of the State farm for women at Valatie; the acquisition of a farm for the prisoners at Auburn; the development of the prison farm at Clinton; the extension of road and reforestation work and other outdoor employment for prisoners; the completion of the State Industrial Farm Colony for tramps and vagrants, of the Yorktown State Training School for Boys, the State Reformatory for Misdemeanants, and the establishment of a custodial asylum for the feeble-minded delinquents.

(Note)—*State Farm for Women.*

Two buildings to house women have been built at Valatie. This institution should be finished. It awaits appropriations. It is much needed. (Laws of 1908, Chapter 467.)

State Industrial Colony for Tramps and Vagrants.

Established by the Legislature of 1911. This also needs appropriations, and should be finished at once.

Reformatory for Male Misdemeanants.

This was established by the Legislature of 1912, but no appropriations have been made since. This institution is much needed.

5. An amendment to the Constitution allowing a bond issue for the completion of necessary State correctional institutions.
6. Amalgamation as far as practicable by constitutional amendment of the various boards and commissions and other bodies having control over prisoners.
7. The development of a court of parole for State prisons and of adequate parole boards for other correctional institutions. Also the development of adequate systems of probation and parole investigation and supervision.

(Note)—The probation and parole systems have grown up in a most haphazard way. Each has great good in it, but is open to grave abuse.

The work of a probation officer and of a parole officer is very similar. The ward of each is a convicted criminal. If he is put on probation it is immediately on his conviction, and without being sent to prison. If he is put on parole, it is after he has served a part of his sentence in prison. In each case he is convicted, and needs the same sort of supervision. The case of convicts on probation and convicts on parole should, therefore, be under one set of officers, covering the whole State, since personal contact between the officer and the convict is the essential thing, and a given number of officers dividing the territory between them will each have less territory to cover than if the whole body of officers is first divided into two divisions and each division tries to cover the whole territory. The officers also need more systematic super-

vision. The present system, by which a convict is turned over to a probation officer or a parole officer, is very much like turning over a convict to a keeper in a prison with no warden to look after the keeper. Both systems should be thoroughly studied and plans worked out in detail.

8. The establishment of a separate building, apart from the main prison, for incarceration of prisoners under sentence of death, and a separate building for executions.

(Note)—As all executions in the State are to take place at Sing Sing, it is desirable that a building separate and distinct from the main prison be established to avoid the present method, which upsets the whole prison routine when an execution occurs.

9. The study and survey of the Sing Sing problem, involving (among other things) the following possibilities:

- (a) Renovation of Sing Sing as a permanent prison.
- (b) Renovation of Sing Sing as a temporary reception prison and laboratory.
- (c) Abolition of Sing Sing as permanent prison, and establishment of a farm industrial prison on wide acreage.

The methods of work to be followed in the effort to translate these ideas into positive accomplishments are these:

Educational.

- A Prison Exhibit to be used throughout New York State during 1914-1915.
- Conferences in New York City, and elsewhere in the State, Winter of 1914-1915.
- Lectures, addresses, after-dinner talks.
- Publicity campaign during Fall and Winter of 1914-1915, for unanimously endorsed legislation.
- Press publicity.

Legislation.

- Conference in Fall of 1914 on proposed legislation.
- Survey of legislation in other States.

The Woman's Department is exceedingly gratified at the progress that has been made, and desires to express its sincere gratitude to all those who have so ably co-operated to bring about this result.

FIRST CONFERENCE

AFTERNOON SESSION, HELD IN THE ASTOR HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY,
MARCH 6, 1914

The Conference assembled at 2.30 P. M., Mrs. Francis McNeil Bacon, Jr., in the Chair.

Mrs. BACON. Those who will speak to us this afternoon will tell you, as surely I cannot, why, through its Chairman, Miss Wetmore, our Woman's Department of the National Civic Federation was asked to become interested in the subject of "Prison Reform." I advisedly say, "why we were asked," meaning that the crying need of better conditions in our prisons and jails must enlist the earnest work of our organization, whose object is the bettering of physical and moral conditions.

Here in our New York and New Jersey Section, we were ready to take up our task at once, and these meetings are the outcome of orders received from the Chairman of our Woman's Department. We have been fortunate in bringing together many of the most expert authorities on the question of "Prison Reform," and I wish to take this opportunity of thanking all who have so very cordially responded to our invitation.

I will now ask the Chairman to relieve me of the responsibility, which really is a very heavy one. I truly appreciate the honor of having a small part in a meeting such as this, and I have the very great pleasure of presenting to you the Honorable William Church Osborn.

Mr. OSBORN. Ladies and gentlemen, it is not my intention to deliver an address, as I am in the humble position of being Chairman only, but I wish to say a personal word with reference to the calling of this meeting and to the attendance which is here this afternoon and which I believe will be present to-night at the meeting at Carnegie Hall.

There is no feature of the life of this State of New York which so impresses me as the co-operation of citizens with the State. The charitable institutions of the State are conducted in the main by private boards, with the boards serving on a non-salaried basis. The State Board of Charities and the board of each of the institutions are managed by private citizens in co-operation with the State. Under that system of development has come a great advance along all of the lines of humane sociological and charitable work, both in the municipalities of the State and in the State itself, and in the charities and in the State hospitals that co-operation which has continued for a great many years has brought about a condition of which, on the whole, the people of this same State have great reason to be proud.

This meeting represents an attack by the great body of citizens of

New York who are interested in their fellow man, their unfortunate and their fallen fellow man, upon the last stronghold of the old style, because compared with the other public institutions of the State, the penal institutions, whether they be the prisons, the probation system or the almshouses, or the institutions of correction, are very backward, and I am in hopes that this conference, of which this is the opening session, will lead to such a pressure of public opinion, such an awakening of activities on the part of the individual citizen, such a clearness of purpose for the development and the strengthening of our prison and penal system, that its influence will result in sweeping away the conditions which now exist so that we will no longer as citizens of the State of New York have cause to be ashamed of our penal institutions and facilities, as in my opinion is now the case.

The pleasure is very great of introducing to this meeting the Honorable John B. Riley, Superintendent of Prisons of the State of New York.

Mr. RILEY. Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen. I make no pretension to being a penologist. I have prepared no set address for this occasion.

I have been asked to give you some information as to the conditions now prevailing in the State prisons; what has been done during the brief term of my administration of the office of superintendent, which is hoped may be done in the future.

It is unnecessary for me to call your attention to Sing Sing. The conditions prevailing there, so far as the housing of prisoners is concerned, are neither better nor worse than they are at Auburn and Clinton. Both prisons are constructed in the same manner. In fact, the cells in the south wing at Auburn are only three feet six inches wide, while those at Sing Sing are three feet ten inches.

In each of the prisons there are about 1,400 men, who must, under the most favorable conditions, spend at least fourteen hours out of every twenty-four in badly ventilated cells destitute of sanitary conveniences. At the hospital connected with Clinton Prison, to which pulmonary cases are sent, there were 524 cases treated last year, largely as a result of their confinement in cells that are unfit for human habitation.

The construction of a new prison to take the place of Sing Sing, as you all know, has been urged for many years. In 1905 a commission was appointed to consider the subject. A report recommending its abolition and the construction of a new prison to take its place was made. The following year a Commission on New Prisons was created. Work was commenced at Bear Mountain. The Legislature, later on, turned the property over to the Palisades Park and directed that a new site be selected. A large farm was purchased near Wingdale. The contract for construction was let. It was finally concluded that it was not a proper site and it was abandoned. Seven hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars has been actually expended. All the State has to show for that expenditure is the farm at Wingdale, which is worth from fifteen to twenty thousand dollars.

I am gratified to know that this body is here organized for the purpose of trying to induce the Legislature to make an appropriation to relieve conditions at Sing Sing. If it is found to be impossible to induce the Legislature to make the necessary appropriation, I favor urging the construction of a new cell house there and the reconstruction of the cell houses in the other prisons. I mean ordinary cell houses, such as have been built at Great Meadow. That prison may not be the latest and best type of prison architecture, but the cells are properly lighted and ventilated and are provided with sanitary conveniences.

When you consider what has happened in the effort to be rid of Sing Sing, I doubt if the Legislature can be induced to appropriate the amount required for the construction of a new prison. Even if provision is made for a new prison, the cells in all the prisons ought to be torn down and new cell blocks constructed.

There is this difference between Sing Sing and the prisons at Clinton and Auburn. The cell houses at those prisons can be adapted to answer the purposes fairly well, so that the expense of reconstructing those prisons will be very much less than at Sing Sing. If Sing Sing is not to be abandoned, a new cell house should be built. The site contains land enough for this purpose. From the standpoint of employing convicts in agricultural pursuits, it is not desirable. The other buildings, however, are valuable. Some of them are fairly substantial buildings, which would require a large expenditure to replace.

My own impression is that eventually a new prison will have to be built. If the cell house at Sing Sing should be rebuilt, it will answer the purpose of a receiving prison. Seventy-five per cent. of the men sent to State prison are now sent to Sing Sing. The other twenty-five per cent. ought to be sent there, where they may be graded and distributed to other prisons.

So far as outdoor labor is concerned, the Sing Sing Prison site was used as a quarry before it was used as a prison. Situated on the Hudson River, connected with the Barge Canal, I know of no better employment for the convicts confined there than that of quarrying and crushing stone to be used in the construction of highways. They can be employed at such work with advantage to themselves and profit to the State. A large proportion of the men who are unfortunate enough to be sent to State Prison must engage in manual labor if they are to take care of themselves after their release. The ordinary convict cannot hope to secure employment in positions where the question of character enters.

There are some things besides the construction of prisons to be considered, although there is no great hope for reform in prison management until sanitary housing facilities for the men confined have been provided.

I hope to establish in the near future a new system of grading prisoners,—one that will provide that the prisoner's record shall commence when he arrives at the prison. By-gones shall be by-gones, so far as he is concerned. The present system, among other absurd provisions, requires that each prisoner upon entering shall wear marks showing his pre-

vious criminal record. I can think of no good that will be accomplished by branding the second or third termer so that all his fellows will be advised of his misfortunes.

The demonstration that has been made during the past year that there are several hundred men in each of the State prisons who may be trusted to engage in road building, farming, or other outdoor occupations, without guards, has opened up a new era in prison management. Convicts have been employed in road building, especially in the Southern states, for a number of years. In many cases they have performed the work in chain gangs with armed guards in charge.

While the State may by such methods have valuable work done, it is very evident that there has been no thought that employment under such conditions would aid in the reform of the individual prisoner. I hope and expect that in the near future a considerable portion of the convict population may be employed, under the direction of foremen capable of directing their work, in farming, road building, quarrying, brick making and other outdoor employments.

It should be borne in mind, however, that in this latitude during the long winter months indoor employment must be found. Our prisons are already fairly well equipped for the manufacture of cloth, clothing, shoes, blankets, tinware, furniture, mats and matting. It is especially important that the State acquire agricultural land in the vicinity of each of the prisons so that substantially all farm products required may be produced by inmate labor.

Provision should also be made for the compensation of prisoners, based upon the value of services actually rendered.

There is ample room for reform in prison management. It seems to me that in view of the fact that thirty per cent. of our prison population are discharged annually, it is most important for the State that from the time the average prisoner enters until his discharge he should, so far as possible, be trained so that when he leaves prison he may, if he has the disposition to do so, be able to earn an honest living.

Mr. OSBORN. It has been of great value to hear Superintendent Riley's talk, and of great value to me to realize that he regards the penal situation as the care of the individual instead of the mere question of housing. Everything that Superintendent Riley said shows to me that he was thinking about the individual man first and last and all the time.

I think that he is quite right about the construction question. I have looked into that matter personally to some extent, and I think that whatever the ideal may be of a grand state institution with a huge block cell that we as citizens have got to look forward to some intermediate method of improving the existing conditions. It has been in my mind for the last year and a half, or maybe it is two years, since I made an investigation of the prisons by permission of the Governor, so that Superintendent Riley and I, without any joint consideration or observation, have independently come to the same point of view with regard to the immediate needs of the penal system of the State.

It is my pleasure and pleasant duty to present Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, Superintendent of the Woman's Farm Colony at Darlington, Pa.

Mrs. FALCONER. Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen. Do reformatories reform? is the question which is being asked more insistently, and the people have a perfect right to ask that question. Formerly we used to claim seventy per cent. were saved. I am not sure as to just how we got that seventy per cent., but we had to show that seventy per cent. were saved. Possibly because they have made a fairly good record in the reformatory, and behave themselves for a short time afterward; but who knows whether reformatories reform? Who has made a study and has followed up the cases long enough to know?

One of the greatest services which I think reformatories can do is to consider themselves as laboratories for the study of delinquency, and this we have not done enough in the past. We ought to be able to give the public this information and to give such truths as we listened to this afternoon—how to avoid delinquency—because we want continually to push and emphasize the preventive work.

None of us who have studied or are working in reformatories can fail to feel it is not just the question of New York or any large city. What about the rural communities, and the conditions there? Is there necessity for developing preventive work in rural communities? Why are the young women continually being sent to the city? What is the matter with the home conditions, and why are they not more willing to stay at home in the home community?

One great evil is the lack of recreation in the rural communities. We have neglected providing proper places for the young people to meet and giving them something to do. Too often this has been left to vicious people who have realized the possibility of making money, and no supervision has been given to entertainments which are presented in the small towns. The young girl drifts to the city because of the monotony in her own home and because the city seems so attractive to her. It is important for the reformatories to study the causes of delinquency, and we ought to be in a position to help shut up the source of supply by emphasizing the much-needed preventive work.

We have in this country reformatories for women and girls where a man is in charge as superintendent; often, a man of position. This is very unwise and unnecessary. These girls should be handled by women. They have usually seen too much of the wrong kind of men and it is important for them to be thrown in contact with the right kind of women. We have in our institution a woman physician, a woman dentist, a woman oculist, and, best of all, a woman farmer, who has charge of all of the outside work. We have found it very beneficial for these nervous hysterical girls to have the opportunity of work and play on the farm.

It is important that the after-care should be developed. Parole agents should be women who can make the investigation of the girl's home conditions when she first enters the institution, to enable the authorities to know whether the girl should be allowed to return to her home when she

is ready to be discharged, or other plans made for her. It is a very critical time at which to adjust the girl, after being carefully sheltered in an institution, when she returns to society. The parole agent should be able to establish friendly relations with the girl in order to do the best work with her and give her the friendly oversight that will be necessary in order to keep the girl from slipping back into the evil ways. Let us emphasize the need of this work's being in the hands of women and further emphasize the obligation which the reformatories should have in the study of delinquency by developing the parole work.

Mr. OSBORN. Mrs. Falconer's interesting address closes the first topic for discussion (Prison Systems and Correctional Institutions), and I now have great pleasure in resigning my position for one much more familiar with this subject, and one much more important than I.

Mrs. BACON. That is not myself. It is a person who is coming here to take the chair now, and I do not think that I need make any presentation of the Chairman who is now coming on to this platform, because I think she is certainly the best known, the most written about, and to those who have had the opportunity of knowing her and coming near to her, one of the best-loved women in the city of New York. I have the greatest pleasure in presenting Dr. Katharine B. Davis.

Miss DAVIS. Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen. I haven't been very many weeks in New York City, but I have already come to feel that New York City is the most important place in the world, and that the affairs of New York are to be considered by New Yorkers even before the affairs of the State of New York, which have been presented to you so far this afternoon.

The appointment of a woman to the position of Commissioner of Correction, of course, was a novelty, but I think one of the principal reasons which actuated the Mayor when he made this appointment was the feeling that women are braver than men. We are not afraid to go out and say we haven't the right kind of penal institutions in New York City, and that we need to spend money to make them better.

I cannot see any reason why the greatest city on the continent, and next to the largest city in the world, should have penal institutions that are among the worst in the world. It doesn't seem to me to be exactly logical.

In the first place, I am not going to describe the district prisons, or the detention prisons like the Tombs and the Raymond Street Jail, because it would take up too much time. But I do want to speak about one or two of the ways in which I want the Civic Federation and the other citizens of New York to help.

The first thing is to build the Detention House for Women. For more than two years members of this organization with others have been working to secure appropriations to build this house. Now, women who are being held for trial are lodged in the district prisons, in the Tombs and in the other detention prisons, under very bad conditions. All of these institutions are very badly overcrowded and very, very unsanitary.

But through the citizens and committee referred to, funds were secured last year to build a Detention House, and I am happy to say that the working drawings are now being made and that it will not be very many weeks before the actual work will be begun, and when the building is completed I am glad to tell you that we shall have one penal institution in New York City to which the City can point with pride.

The next thing that our Department wants to do is to establish a farm colony for boys in Orange County, to take the place of the institution known as the New York City Reformatory for Male Misdemeanants, now located on Hart's Island.

Last year the city bought a farm in Orange County of 610 acres. Through the generosity of a citizen, I have been given money for the salary of a farm superintendent, so I have not had to wait for red tape and civil service and all the rest of it, but I am going to be able to get my men right out and start them to work. Next week, if nothing happens, the first group of boys are going out into Orange County to build the bunk houses and get ready for the larger group. Then they will start plowing and we will be able to make some use of this land, pending an appropriation from the Board of Estimate and Apportionment to build the permanent buildings.

You can all help by making your friends believe that it is a desirable thing for the Board of Estimate and Apportionment to give the necessary money at least to make a beginning on the permanent buildings of this farm colony.

The women over at the Workhouse are not well taken care of. Do you know that over five thousand women go through our Workhouse each year? There is no place where they can get outdoor exercise. There are one hundred and fifty cells which house over four hundred women; the young and the old are in cells together because there are no other accommodations. There is no adequate physical examination when the women are received in the institution. There is no woman physician.

I believe the next thing I would like to ask for would be the means to separate the Workhouse women from the men. If we have to have short sentences, at least we should have a farm colony near the city where these women could be sent.

I would like to do away altogether with the women's department in the Penitentiary. There is a very peculiar condition of affairs there: thirteen hundred men and seventy-three women; and until the last week the women have been twiddling their thumbs while the men made their dresses for them. We need, then, farm colonies in place of the Workhouse, a new industrial penitentiary in a different location, and a new Tombs. Dr. Lewis will speak to you about the conditions in the Tombs.

The subject of County Jails also concerns New York. You will remember that we have five counties in New York City: Manhattan, Brooklyn, Queens, Richmond, and the Bronx. We are doing away with the old idea of having the county jails under the supervision of the sheriff, and they are gradually coming into the Department of Correction. I

think Dr. Lewis will be prepared to tell you why it is better for these county jails to be under the City Department than under the jurisdiction of the individual counties.

One of the organizations which will co-operate very closely with the present administration is the New York Prison Association. The Secretary of this organization, Dr. O. F. Lewis, is one of the best authorities in this country on the subject of jail administration, and I have great pleasure in introducing Dr. Lewis, who will talk to us on "County Jails."

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen. The question I am going to speak on this afternoon is less familiar to the people in the City of New York than perhaps any other correctional problem, namely, the "County Jail." Very few of have ever been within a county jail. There is a story that in Connecticut every fall, at a little county jail, a postal card comes along about the first of November, saying, "Expect me in about ten days." That is much the attitude of not a few persons who get locked up more less habitually in the county jails of the State. One of the most frequent remarks about the county jail is that it is called a "School of Crime."

The county jail problem is tied up with the matter of county government. The sheriff is the chief executive officer of the county. He is appointed for a three-year term, but cannot succeed himself. He is very frequently appointed through political activity. He has very little penological knowledge beforehand; he has few, if any, models to go on; and it is only through the efforts particularly of prison commissions and associations that the county jails are as good as they are. And the result is that we have still a situation in this State, in the sixty-five odd counties, that was done away with in England in 1877, when the State took over all the county jails, and made them all subject to one Prison Commission.

Now, it is the general trend of purpose among those who are interested in criminological matters in this State, that ultimately the State should take over the administration of the county jails, so far as convicted persons, at least, are concerned, and probably discontinue to a large degree the county jails; but it will probably be still some years by the time this is done.

With this very brief introduction, I am going to take you on a rather interesting trip, not only to county jails, but also to a number of prisons that you will hear about at these Conferences, and I want to show you what an inspector would look at particularly, but I shall not be able to stop for a great many details, of course.

[Dr. Lewis then presented about fifty stereopticon views, illustrating county jails, reformatories, and prisons.

He pointed out that the county jails are centres of idleness, unemployment and frequently of demoralization. He dwelt particularly upon the construction of buildings and cells, and emphasized the more important features of administration and construction. In contrast with the unorganized conditions of administration in county jails, he presented pictures of Elmira Reformatory, with its remarkable military and

educational and industrial systems, and finally of Great Meadow Prison, where the most extreme form of the "honor system" yet developed in the Eastern States is working successfully.]

MISS DAVIS. Dean Kirchwey, who was to be the chairman of the last section of this afternoon's meeting, is detained at home on account of illness, and so it has fallen to me to present the next speaker.

The subject is the "Co-ordination of Boards and Commissions."

In these days of numerous boards and numerous commissions it seems to me that here should be harmonious co-operation between them, if we are not going to build at cross-purposes, and to accomplish the purpose for which we are all working.

I have the great pleasure of introducing Dr. E. Stagg Whitin, who is an authority on prison labor.

MR. WHITIN. Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen. New York State is about to have a constitutional convention. The present constitution of the State, adopted by the convention of 1894, received the confirmation of popular vote primarily because it contained the well-known clause on prison administration. This constitution was the end of an eighty years' struggle between the prison contractors with the prison ring on one side and the prison reformers and organized labor upon the other. Forces of reform, headed by Senator Elihu Root, won a pronounced victory and left to the Legislature the carrying out the detail of administrative laws. The Legislature of 1896 faced a difficult task, for the constitution, into which was written this State-use provision, contained also provision for a method of administering the prison department with a single head and of conducting the special details of the penal and charitable institutions by separate boards with limited supervisory power. Unable to combine these conflicting elements, the Legislature provided loosely for the establishment of a so-called board of classifications wherein these several elements of administration were loosely coordinated. The prison ring, desiring failure for the new system, riddled this legislation with jokers and grabbed its administration. A few conscientious men scattered through the prison department and on the prison commission contended without success to stem "the riot of waste and mismanagement" of political manipulation and financial exploitation. The half million appropriation for the prison fund was suppressed in the reports and the records of the convicts' wages kept in the spoilsman's hat. The recommendation of Governor Hughes in his message to the Legislature of January 6, 1910, for the establishment of a board of control to harmonize wherever practical the financial operations of the state, faced this chaos amid which there stood a well-entrenched group of spoilsman. The incoming of Governor Dix and the work of his commissioners, William Church Osborn and George E. Van Kennen, brought to the surface the mismanagement and eliminated the leading spirit of corruption. Governor Sulzer, acting upon the recommendation of the Dix Commissioners, eliminated the sales agent and the Secretary of the Prison Commission—the other two members of the triumvirate, but it has been left for the Commission on Prison

Reform to straighten out the tangles in the conflicting laws, to establish a new scheme of internal administration and to face clearly the proposition of eliminating any embarrassment to a better coordinated administration which the constitution may offer. Our task is probably best explained in the resolution offered to the Legislature as the result of Governor Hughes' recommendation for the establishment of a board of control:

"Whereas, the institutions now supported wholly or in part by state funds are divided so far as their financial administration is concerned, into four groups, one under the State Commission on Lunacy (now the Hospital Commission), one under the Fiscal Supervisor of State Charities, one under the Superintendent of Prisons, and one with no financial supervision beyond the auditing of vouchers by the Comptroller, and

"Whereas, the present laws compel these institutions to do business with nine separate boards, commissions and departments, viz.: The State Commission in Lunacy (now the Hospital Commission), the Fiscal Supervisor of State Charities, the Superintendent of Prisons, the Commission of Prisons, the State Board of Charities, the State Architect, the State Board of Classification, the Salary Classification Commission, and the Building Commission, be it

"Resolved, that a committee examine into the methods of financial administrations and conduct of all institutions, societies or associations in the State which are supported either wholly or in part by State moneys, or which are in any manner an expense to the State, into the functions of any or all State departments concerned in the management, supervision or regulation of any such institution, the methods of making purchase, fixing salaries, awarding contracts for supplies, buildings, repairs and improvements, the sale of manufactured articles, and the conduct generally of the business of all such institutions and departments, for the purpose of reporting to the next session of the Legislature such laws relating thereto as said committee may deem proper, together with a recommendation as to the propriety of passing an amendment to the constitution, if such may be deemed necessary, for the unification of a system of financial and administrative control of all state institutions."

Governor Hughes asked the Legislature for an appropriation for such work. The Commission on Prison Reform is asking the Legislature for an appropriation for its work and asks the support of the Woman's Department of the National Civic Federation to secure this from the legislature.

To the work of the Commission on Prison Reform, the National Committee on Prison Labor can contribute not only the history of the development of penal administration in New York State, but a comprehensive survey of the developing of methods of control in the other states. It can show how the history of New York State up to 1894 finds its parallel in the conditions existing in other states today; it can show in which states the boards of inspectors, the earliest form of prison control in New York State, still exists; in which states the boards of supervision, which to a

certain extent continue in New York in the Prison Commission and the State Board of Charities, find a counterpart; it can show how since 1894 the states of Iowa, Ohio, South Dakota, Rhode Island, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming have coordinated their state charitable and penal institutions under centralized boards of control or of administration, and can sustain Governor Hughes' contention of four years ago.

One year intervenes between now and the constitutional convention. It needs to be a year of research into the application of the methods of big business to the methods of big government. Germany has not hesitated to combine her many institutions under centralized control. We need to study her methods, but still more do we need the daring and the leadership of the men who have organized big business to its high perfection of efficiency. The draft of a constitutional provision must be coordinate with the draft of legislation which will make possible the operation of the constitutional provision. Its support must be had from one and all parties and a campaign of education carried on to secure this united approval. It is owing to such an educational campaign that we are gathered today and I want to congratulate the members of the metropolitan Section of the Woman's Department of the National Civic Federation on their courage in taking up this movement.

The significance of what you in New York are doing has its bearing upon the nation at large. Through the good auspices of your National Woman's Department the same impetus is being given in other states, and in Washington you have afforded a platform for bringing forth the idea of a national office of prisons, through which the states may secure scientific and reliable data and suggestions as to the best adaptation to their own special community of the work you are developing in New York and which your other departments will work out in the other states. In pointing out the great work in which you are engaged, I cannot help mentioning that whether you are voters or not you are here undertaking to bear the responsibility of the state's own housekeeping which has so long been left to the debauch of the servants which you have hired to run it.

MRS. BACON. I would like to express our thanks to all of those who have spoken to us this afternoon and have made this meeting one which I hope will be of great use in this purpose which Mr. Whitin has now told us of, the coordination of all these boards.

I will now bring this meeting to a close.

MASS MEETING, CARNEGIE HALL

FRIDAY EVENING, MARCH 6, 1914.

The Mass Meeting was opened at 8.15 P.M., by Mrs. Francis McNeil Bacon, Jr.

MRS. BACON. Before it is my privilege to introduce the chairman who has honored us with his presence this evening, I want in the name of the Metropolitan Section of the New York and New Jersey Women's Department of the Civic Federation, to extend a most cordial welcome to you for the encouragement which your presence is giving us. In coming here to-night, you are doing your share toward solving the problem which is in so many minds and hearts to-day, and which briefly stated is: "Shall we uphold, shall we help, the unfortunates who are suffering for their misdeeds, and often are but partly responsible for them, or shall we condemn them to further physical and moral degradation?" Is not this a field where the co-operation of women may be of the greatest value? When the chairman of our Women's Department, Miss Wetmore, asked us to take up this matter, we in our Metropolitan Section gladly obeyed her summons. We have called this meeting. If there is work for us to do, we will try to do it, and we feel strongly that if those who are in the field already will attack the question with united effort, there will soon be no prison problem to solve.

I wish I might thank by name each and all who took part in our conference this afternoon, those who are to speak to us this evening, and the members of our committee whose zeal has been untiring. I wish I could take this time, but I cannot, and therefore, we must pass on to the rest of our program.

There is one guest, however, to whom I wish to express our deep appreciation for the honor he has done us in consenting to preside here at this meeting, and it is with the truest sense of our obligation to him that I have the very great honor and pleasure of presenting to you His Excellency, The Governor of New York.

GOVERNOR GLYNN. Ladies and gentlemen: It is the duty of the presiding officer to make his speech short, and as I am always loyal to duty, my speech will be short.

Prison reform is the subject of to-night's symposium, and the masters of the subject are your speakers. Their recommendation for your consideration lies not in promise, but in performance. The names of all the speakers of to-night's program are synonymous with prison reform. I am for prison reform, and as Governor of New York State I promise all the

assistance within my power to further the fondest hopes of the sponsors of this movement.

Benjamin Franklin said that he believed more in the corrective sense of justice than in punishment for punishment's sake, and so do I.

I believe that there are more criminals by accident than by intention. For the criminals of intention,—the professional cold-blooded criminals—the criminals at heart, I have little sympathy and less pity. But for the criminals of accident—men who are made criminals by circumstances and conditions, more than by their own heart and their own head—I for one, would substitute in our punitive system pity instead of punishment.

I am for prison reform, and I believe that we have in recent years in this country made great progress in prison reform. If you doubt it, I refer any of you to the pages in the first or second volume of McMaster's History of the United States, and therein read how our ancestors treated criminals, and then think of how we treat them. We treat them better than they did, but we want to treat them even better than we do, and that is the object of to-night's meeting.

I have been receiving letters by the score from this society saying "Sing Sing must go." Well, if the number of those letters and the size of this audience means anything, I suppose Sing Sing must go! But that is not enough.

If Sing Sing is to go, Clinton must be improved and Auburn must be improved. We must have a state institution for misdemeanants and a training school for boys. I am for all that. I would even go further, I would abolish the Women's Prison at Auburn.

But my friends, though the world moves fast, it moves fast by slow degrees. We cannot do all this in a minute, and we cannot do it all on a jump, because it will take a great deal of money to do it, and New York cannot undertake to do this all at once.

Now, I am for prison reform, but I am for it with some degree of reservation. And I want to ask every man and every woman in this hall committed to prison reform that they will take into consideration the circumstances that Superintendent Riley and myself and the other officials at Albany who are in favor of prison reform have to confront. If we had the financial situation there that we had a few years ago financially, I could pledge you this week an appropriation big enough to build a new prison for Sing Sing, but we have not that condition, and for that reason I am going to ask consideration to allow us to move slowly.

But still, I am for prison reform, but you cannot have it all at once. You have got to take it gradually, and I will tell you one of the best ways to do it.

I hope that we are going to have a constitutional convention in 1915. There are a good many things in the Constitution that ought to be changed. The referendum will be submitted to the people in April and if it is carried, in 1915 the people of this State will have a chance up at Albany to write into our Constitution provision that will allow you, Mrs. Bacon, to do away with Sing Sing and build the charitable institution that you

want, and this is the way to do it. Change the Constitution so that the State can issue bonds, amortized bonds, running over a period of fifty years, to be paid in dribs and drabs, so much a year, and then you can do away with Sing Sing. You can build all those other institutions, and until we do something of that kind, New York State will have to stop building, unless we can find more in the system of indirect taxation and more money. But we can stand a small appropriation to begin the work, and I am for it.

I pledge to-night to do anything that is consistent, anything that we can do, and anything in keeping with the State, financially, to help put the prison system in New York the way it ought to be. But do not ask us to do more than we can. I am willing to do that, because every time I think of a man in prison, every time I think of a man in trouble, there comes back to my mind the picture of John Wesley, when he saw the poor beggar groveling in jail, and said, "But for the grace of God, there lies John Wesley." But for the grace of God, probably some of us would be in jail, in the place of the men whom we want to help to-night.

I said I would make my speech short, but my enthusiasm carried me further than I meant to go. It is now my pleasure, my friends, to introduce to you, a man who really does know something about prison reform, and so I have the great pleasure in introducing to you Dr. Frank Moore, Superintendent of the State Reformatory, Rahway, New Jersey.

Mr. MOORE. Your Excellency, ladies and gentlemen: We, in America to-day, are facing a very serious criminal problem; it is serious in its enormity.

The last census—that of 1910—tells us that there were one hundred and twenty-five prisoners for every one hundred thousand of our population. That means that one out of every eight hundred of our population greeted the New Year in prison. The ratio of commitments during that year, however, was five hundred and twenty-two to each one hundred thousand of our citizens, which means that the entire number convicted during the single year amounted to 479,768 people.

This prison population in 1910, which has not decreased since then, shows a population as large as that of any one of our ten smallest states, and was greater than the combined populations of Wyoming, Nevada, Alaska and Delaware.

It is great, too, in its cost. It has been estimated that the cost of machinery necessary to secure a single conviction for crime is \$1,500. To verify this, we studied last year the average cost of conviction in our largest county, and found it was \$1,380 for every commitment that was made. Therefore, it would perhaps seem conservative if we said that the commitments of this country, in a single year, cost the United States five hundred millions of dollars.

Not only is it costly, but it is exceedingly humiliating, when we compare ourselves with the best countries that are about us. Over in New Jersey last year we had 53,759 arrests outside of those that were made for drunkenness. Compare in this regard Great Britain. These arrests in New Jersey were in our ten largest cities, with a population of

1,250,000. Great Britain in 1910, with 42,000,000 population, only had 103,132 arrests. That is, she was sixteen times the size of New Jersey in her population, but she only had about double the number of arrests that we had over there in our little state.

Last year we had in New Jersey sixty-three murders. In 1910 England, with forty-two million people, only had eighty-nine murders. Therefore, because of the enormity, the cost, and the humiliation of the criminal problem which we are confronting, it seems to me we can say we are face to face with a very serious problem.

It is not for us to ask to-night why this is. Here is a gigantic question staring us with horrid visage in the face, asking us, "What are you going to do about it?" What can we do? I am here to make simply three brief suggestions.

First, to say that if we are going to solve this problem at all, we must begin at the beginning, and make it so that our courts shall conduct the trial only up to the time for the finding of guilt or of innocence.

After that, the prisoner should be turned over to a place of observation, where mental, moral and physical experts can take the prisoner into close range. They should study his history, and with their skill determine where the prisoner ought to go. Not because of the crime that he has committed—for the crime is in many cases an accident, and at most it is but a symptom—but these experts should determine where the men should go, by means of their character. Then the offender would be assigned to a place that could handle him and do something for him. As it is now, all kinds of criminals, the first offender, the recidivist, the moral degenerate, the sexual pervert, the normal-minded, the feeble-minded, the sane, the insane, the inebriate, the drug habitué, the pilferer, the thief, the eggman, the thug, the homicide; all these and many more—both native and foreign born—are put into one place, to the great harm of all; and not only so, but it increases the difficulty of the penal institution, making it impossible for any human skill to devise a plan that can successfully handle all these multifarious cases in such a skillful way as to be successful with any one particular class.

And until that time comes we shall always need better prisons, but we shall get better prisons only as the world grows better, just so fast and no faster. We need that our prisons shall be the very best prisons that can be made, and I wish here to pause long enough to say that not all prisons are bad. There are some bad ones, but they are not all bad.

Our prisons ought to be as good as our most healthy homes, and our purest churches. I do not mean to say now that they shall be places of luxury. Not that; but because of the tremendous work they have to do, the prisons ought to be as helpful as any school, as healthy as any home and as pure as any church to be found in the land. For those who go to prison have been unfortunate as a rule; they have had poor homes; they have been poorly fitted; they have had little opportunity, and society must give them something better than the things that have dragged them down, or it cannot lift them up.

It will be of no effect to put a man behind bars and give him the same dull and monotonous life that he has had on the outside. Bars can do nothing beyond holding a man more firmly in the grip of despair. We have bars enough already. The fact is, we have too many bars. If I could, I would take about three-quarters of the bars out of the institution that I have the honor to be head of, over in New Jersey, and I would turn those rooms that are now cells into real rooms without bars. Then we would not have to put the first offender behind bars. We do not need more bars, we need more brains.

More money is needed, in order to secure better teachers, more money that real trades can be taught—more money that the industries of the prison can be intelligently directed—and above anything else, we want money for a good warden. Get a good warden, but when you get him, be fair to him, and not only be fair to him, but give him the tools with which to work.

Not only that, but back him up with good co-laborers, and don't put people in there because of political pull.

Not only that, but let me say this, be fair in your criticisms of your prisons. It ought not to be so, that the papers or the public could so falsely criticize prisons as to undermine their power and their standing in the community. Be fair to them.

Personally, I am deeply convinced in this matter, that there is no way that we can teach justice, like giving the man who earns more than his maintenance the amount of money that he earns. Why should the state make money out of a man behind prison bars, simply because he has happened to steal a few dollars from some citizen of the state? If we would give to him that which he actually earns, then he would have the means of helping to alleviate the sufferings of his family. It will give him the means of rehabilitating himself when he again goes out into the world, and our penal institutions would be made humming places of industry, because the men would be impelled by much the same motive that impels us to work hard, and the degradation that now creeps into the prison would not creep in. The men would be too busy to think of such evil things.

Then I want to emphasize that it seems to me that the one central and most important thing in connection with our prison life is that our prisons shall be places where we shall teach the conscience. Now we are talking about prison reform and other outside work, but unless the man that goes out on the farm, or the man that goes to these various kinds of work, has been taught the difference between right and wrong, and unless that has been so thoroughly emphasized in his life that it becomes the rule of his conduct—unless that is true, the man is going to go back to prison over and over again.

I want to say this in closing. Society needs to reform its treatment of the criminal after he comes out of prison. In most cases society, because of its failures, has not done with him what it ought to have done in the beginning. Now, when he comes out of prison, society needs to

give a sober, serious thought and say, "We did not do the thing as we ought to have done it in the beginning, but we will make amends and do it now, and we will give him a fair, square chance!"

Over in New Jersey, two years ago, we put out three hundred and thirteen men from our New Jersey Reformatory. Those three hundred and thirteen boys, when they came in, were earning five thousand dollars a month; when they went out those same three hundred and thirteen boys went out to jobs at which they made an aggregate wage of ten thousand dollars a month. Now that was due to two things.

First, to the fact that they had a training at the Reformatory which made them do better work than before, but it was due more than anything else to the fact that the people of New Jersey (and I think you are the same over here) have a different viewpoint concerning the man that comes out of prison from what they used to have. Twenty-five years ago society used to mark him with a mark of disgrace so that he could not get a position, and he was a vagabond on earth, but now we have a different feeling toward the fellow that has gone wrong. We are willing to give him an opportunity even at double the salary. Let us more and more give him a fair, square chance.

GOVERNOR GLYNN. The next speaker on the program is Dr. J. T. Gilmour, Warden of the Central Prison Farm of Canada.

MR. GILMOUR. Your Excellency, ladies and gentlemen. One day a laborer was working on the streets near the prison. A prisoner looked out from between the bars and inquired the time. The laborer paid no attention to him until the prisoner repeated the question two or three times, when the laborer turned around and said, "What do you want to know for? You ain't going anywhere!" This illustrates to a very large extent the attitude of society toward the delinquent. Through several long and cruel centuries at last society has awakened, and now we are trying to see that the prisoner goes somewhere.

Will you pardon a personal reference? When I left home in Toronto last night I was in good health. My condition¹ to-night is quite apparent to you, and I shall thrust this painful experience upon you, only for two or three minutes, to tell you that what we are trying to do is slightly different from what has been done in the past.

We selected a farm of eight hundred and fifty acres, and four years ago we commenced by taking out fourteen men to work as farmers. We placed them in a farmhouse. We rapidly increased this number until we had one hundred and fifty, and for the last year or two we have had five hundred men working on our prison farms. The selection of a prison farm is an important matter. We tried to get a farm, and we succeeded in getting a farm that had a splendid stone quarry on it. It had a large amount of sand and gravel, and you can easily realize that there are a great many industries which have their base in stone, sand, clay and gravel. We have not troubled so much about the money to build our

new prison because we put the prisoners to work and they are building it themselves.

Not only that. We are now building a hospital for the insane to accommodate fourteen hundred inmates, and our first step was to put in a barracks that would accommodate one hundred and fifty prisoners to do all the preliminary work, and a great deal of the manual labor as the construction goes on. In the construction of our prison and the construction of our hospital for the insane we have not let a single contract.

When we first took our boys out to the farm, four years ago, we commenced to study among them as to certain phases of prison life. I asked a great many young men the same question, to different types at different times and different places, and the question I asked them was, "What do you find the greatest difference between life out here on the farm and life in the prison in Toronto?" They invariably gave me the same reply: "To get away from that cell! To stay in the cell all day Sunday, and Saturday afternoon, and every night—it is hell!" And the study that we made among these men changed the whole plan of our buildings. When those buildings are completed, no man or boy will ever look out between iron bars to find out where God's sunlight is.

This afternoon Mrs. Falconer asked the question, "Do reformatory reform?" Let us go a step further and ask the question, "What is reformation?" Reformation means expansion. Reformation means development; and can a man expand or develop along right lines by being thrown into a prison cell and kept there? Our whole system in the past has been a system of repression rather than a system of development and expansion. We have tried out the prison farm with four thousand men, with the most satisfactory results. Less than two per cent. of our men have escaped. I do not emphasize the honor phase. I believe it has been overdone. If these men were of such strong character that they could stay there, they would never have come to prison. But more men come to prison through weakness than through wickedness, and we have found that careful, kind supervision and direction is sufficient to do what formerly we thought stone walls and guns had to do. We have no wall at our place and we have never had any firearms. I don't expect we ever shall have. There is an indefinable something in God's out-of-doors that heals and elevates, and when we realize that the great majority of delinquents are handicapped in life's race, either by mental, moral or physical defects, how does it stand to reason that we can make those men better by housing them up in a prison cell?

One day last Autumn three men just out of prison met in the office of the Salvation Army an officer who works with us and conducts a labor bureau. Two of them came from the farm, one of them came from the cellular prison at Kingston. The Army officer said, "Bill, what can you do?" and he said, "Major, I am fit and I can do anything you can hand out." He said to the other boy from the farm, "Terry, what can you do?" and he good-naturedly said, "I can do *this* fellow!" The Army

¹ Dr. Gilmour was suffering from severe hoarseness.

officer then turned to the man who came from a cellular prison and he said, "What can you do, my boy?" and he said, "Major, I am down and out, and I cannot do anything until I get built up!"

If out-of-door work for delinquents did nothing more than to make them strong physically, to fit them for this strenuous civilization, then it is well worth while. The men are most appreciative of the outdoor treatment. We allow conversation as freely as in any ordinary industry. In efficiency our men work equal to any free laborer, when they are properly supervised. We have proved this, that we can have these out-of-door prisons without the great expense that it is usually thought necessary.

I only regret that it is impossible to-night for me to say what I should like to say if I were able. I thank you.

GOVERNOR GLYNX. Dr. Gilmour has just invited you all to go to prison in Canada. I am going to invite you all now—an Eastern Governor is about to invite you all—this evening to listen to a Western Governor. Out of the West comes Governor West, of Oregon, to speak to you to-night.

GOVERNOR WEST. Prison reform in Oregon is not in the making. It is already made. It is perhaps not the serious problem that your Governor will have to contend with in this State. Fortunately, when I went into office on January 1, 1911, I found that the Governor was the "boss" of the job as far as the prisons were concerned.

He could hire anybody and he could fire anybody. And they usually hired the worst lot of old political bums that you ever saw. I found that all the crooks were not in prison, and not all out of politics. Now, when I got out to the prison, I met a lot of my old schoolmates, and I was surprised. I stopped to think it over. I went to school with them. They had no more vicious habits than I had. They were not confirmed criminals. I got to figuring out what I could do to help reform them, put them on their feet again, and it occurred to me if I could do it with these boys, whom I knew, why could it not be done with the other fellow whom the other fellow knew.

We had a prison contract with a stove factory, where about half of the prison population were being farmed out to a corporation for thirty-five cents a day, and just at that time the full force was not working. There were about 250 men lying idle in the prison yard, in the filthy prison. You would think, with so many idle men around, they could keep things cleaned up. But they did not. I began to stir up things, and put these idle men to work in cleaning up around the institution. Then I began to look into the prison contract, and I found that, owing to political favoritism in the past, the prison contractors had been permitted to pay for the services of the men whenever they got ready. They had a long-time contract. They were delinquent in their payments, and when I made this discovery I said nothing to them. I was just waiting for an opportunity, and when they came and defaulted I served notice on them that they were down and out. The contractor came in

with tears in his eyes, and he said that it was a breach of contract—probably the State had no legal obligation to fulfil it, but it had a moral obligation.

Now that is the way that we did away with prison contract labor in the State of Oregon. It did not take very long, and we saw that they got it out of the institution at an early date, and then we were up against the problem of taking care of these men. We did not have any money to install industries, to take care of the service of prison labor. We had a little brickyard where we were manufacturing bricks. I went out there one day, and there was a bunch of convicts working in the yard. I found the best day's work they ever put up was sixteen thousand bricks in a small plant, and after I talked with them a little while I said, "You are not doing as much work as you ought to. But I don't blame you a bit. Under favorable conditions, how many bricks do you think you could make here?" They did not know. I said, "Now you get busy and we will take sixteen thousand bricks as a day's work—as an ordinary day's work—and all the brick you make over that we will divide with you, and we will buy them from you at the price the brick is selling to the other State institutions." They immediately ran the number up to twenty-four thousand, so that the convicts were making forty cents on the side, and they got the money after I raised it.

I got ten dollars a thousand for the brick. I set about to put in some prison industries, and we put in a shoe shop, a tailor shop, a machine shop, and I bought the machinery. I got it from this foundry company. When I came to settle up with them, I let them pay their rent in machinery. The Legislature could not kick about that. I told them I was going to do that because they were bankrupt, and I took it to save the State, and so I got a fine machine shop out of it; and then we wanted some new barns and farm machines. Well, we built some new barns, painted them up, and we built model hog pens, so that they could have pigs and roast pork, and we had a model chicken farm out there, and I bought the first tract of land.

Now these are the conditions we found in Oregon: The cells were dark and poorly ventilated. Two men to the cell—one of the greatest curses on earth. Men were never allowed to speak to one another. They were never treated properly. Corporal punishment was administered. They were flogged, held up by the hands, beaten, kept in dungeons, and given the water cure. Governor Chamberlin, who preceded me, removed a great number of those curses, and did a great deal toward prison reform in the State of Oregon which had made things much easier for me. I could not see any reason why a man should be denied the privilege of talking to a fellow prisoner in the yard. Previously they were not allowed books, they were not allowed newspapers. Now we allow them anything they want to read. They are human like the rest of us, and if they want to talk, they talk. Discipline is maintained. I venture to say there is not a prison in the United States where discipline is maintained to a greater extent than it is maintained

there. There is a most kindly feeling between the guards and the men. Now there are about a third of the men in every prison that can be trusted outside under the honor system. It is no different in New York or Canada, or in New Jersey or Wyoming. They are all alike. A weakling is a weakling and a crook is a crook and a white man is a white man. It does not make any difference where you go, the problem is the same. Some of them will get away. We lose a man once in a while. But there are about a third of them whom you can work outside. We work them on our prison farm. We have also sent men out to the other institutions, to the insane asylum, and to the tuberculosis sanitarium, to do work for those institutions.

We have been doing a lot of road work. We send the men to the different counties. We allow them 25 cents a day for their labor, and we allow them 15 cents a day for clothes. That is 40 cents a day that they get from the institution or the counties which they are working for. If they are working for a county, the county pays them. The men get their money. It is paid to them each month. If they want it they get it, and they can spend it for anything that is right and proper. If they want to buy more clothes, if they want to buy luxuries, they can do it. But it relieves the State to the extent of taking care of the prisoners.

The working of prisoners on the road has become quite popular in the State of Oregon, but it leaves two-thirds of the prisoners that must be taken care of through the installation of industries or by some other means. Well, about half of the balance are needed around our institutions, at least to take care of the institutions, looking after the up-keep and maintenance. Then we can take care of a third through the installation of industries.

You know the man works best on the task that is most pleasing to him. It is a great economic waste to take a barber and put him out in the chicken range, and take an electrician and put him out in the barn currying horses. The man should be placed where he can bring the greatest returns to the State. The whole thing, when you sift it down, is not a matter of sentimentalism or care of the prisoners, but it is a business proposition as to taking care of a problem in the cheapest possible way, and at the same time in a manner that will make for the moral, physical and mental reformation of the prisoners.

GOVERNOR GLYNN. I have learned one great thing. I am going back to Albany and am going to make every prisoner manufacture bricks for good roads. Then there will be no room for contractors to skimp or for contractors to be sandbagged by others, and maybe we will get better roads for New York State. Governor West has told you the labor unions have done more than any other organization he knows of in furthering prison reform in the West, and I now introduce to you a distinct representative of labor unions, Mr. John Manning.

MR. MANNING. I am grateful to the Metropolitan Section of the Women's Department of the National Civic Federation for the oppor-

tunity of saying a few words as to the position of the trade unions on the very important question of what is best for the inmates of our penal institutions, and while discussing this subject from the viewpoint just indicated, I would like to emphasize, at this particular time, the good work that has been done during the past four years in this field by the National Committee on Prison Labor, of which Mr. Thomas Mott Osborne is the chairman, because it has been four years of hard labor under conditions almost as trying and disheartening as those which surround the convicts.

In our work to ameliorate the condition of the convict and improve conditions generally, as has been our experience in all other movements for human betterment in which we have engaged, the trade union movement has been misunderstood, misrepresented, and oftentimes viciously maligned. We have been charged with ulterior and selfish motives for no other reason than that we were trade unionists; but, despite all this hostile opposition, we have hewed to the line, confident that ultimately an awakened public conscience would listen to our plea that the convict was, first of all, a human being, and even though he were temporarily deprived of his liberty for violating society's laws, he was still human, and the State had no moral right to dodge its responsibility for his reformation by turning him and his labor over to the tender mercies of a slave-driving contractor, whose only interest in him was profit and still more profit.

Much of this misunderstanding of our position undoubtedly arose through the attitude at times assumed by individual unions. For instance, in 1830, the granite cutters of New York City were protesting against the employment of convicts in that industry, as it had a tendency to reduce their wages and lower their economic standing. The same action was taken by the coopers of New York City in 1833, when they protested to the Legislature against the increasing of the force of men employed in this particular work in the prisons, as there were at that time about 200 coopers in New York, and the number employed in the prisons exceeded that number, the belief of the coopers being that if the policy of the State were continued, it would eventually drive all the coopers engaged in free labor from the industry.

However, the first State-wide movement inaugurated by the trade unionists of New York State was at a convention of the Workingmen's Federation in 1865, when a resolution was passed calling upon the State to discontinue the leasing system.

The trade unions have always opposed what is known as the leasing system; that is, where the labor of convicts is sold to a private individual or corporation for so much per day, the contract usually providing for the furnishing of buildings, power, light, heat and machinery by the State, and as the financial returns to the State usually average from 30 to 70 cents per day for the labor of each convict, it can readily be seen that a great hardship is worked by this system against the employer who employs free labor at fairly good wages, and the workers are

forced to meet ruinous competition so far as their earning power is concerned.

The United Garment Workers of America are opposed to the leasing system for several reasons, the principal of which are that the competition with which fair-minded manufacturers in our industry have to meet is absolutely unfair; our members who receive a fair living wage and good working conditions are forced to compete with this 65 cents a day labor, which has a tendency to curb any improvement in working conditions; and we further believe that the State has no moral right to be a party to this state of affairs by selling the labor of its convicts to any individual or corporation for purposes of exploitation.

I don't believe that any one can tell or has any idea of what percentage of convict-made goods is brought in competition with the products of free labor, but I do know that about 30,000 girls who are members of the United Garment Workers of America, engaged in making work-shirts and overalls under the best working conditions in any of the factories of the world, feel it more keenly than any other branch of industry. Just how keen this competition is may be inferred from a recent report of the prison at Jefferson City, Mo., which shows that the force of convicts consisted of 1,896 men and 44 women, or a grand total of 1,740 workers, the State receiving for the male convicts, with the exception of 46 "cripples," 70 cents a day, and for the cripples and women 50 cents a day. For the same work, free labor in union shops receives from \$2.80 to \$4 per day. The total output of this prison was valued at \$4,294,494.

The report further shows that in the clothing industry of this particular prison the working force consisted of 887 men and 44 women, a total of 931 workers, which was more than 53 per cent. of the entire prison population, that comes in direct competition with our girls engaged in the shirt and overall industry. The value of the output of these workers for 1912 was \$2,663,021, which in itself is an item that should make not only the workers in our trade, but also the manufacturers, sit up and take notice.

That the activities of the contractors do not cease within the walls of the prison is also shown in this report, as it says there are more than 300 girls earning from \$5 to \$8 a week in outside factories, and there were 115 women who did work in their homes earning from \$1 to \$8 a week. If the wages of these women were based on the labor cost of the inmates of the prison, it is only fair to assume that the monetary return for their labor was not more than 50 per cent. of what they would earn under normal trade conditions.

I have made diligent inquiry and I am unable to locate a single factory in the United States employing free labor whose output is as great or which employs so many people under one roof in the shirt and overall industry as does this prison in Jefferson City.

The foregoing facts and figures furnish ample reason to any fair-minded person for our hostility to the leasing system, and why we are favorable to what is known as the "State use system"; that is, where the

labor of convicts is used for the manufacture of commodities exclusively for the use of the State and its political subdivisions, such as was provided for in the constitutional convention of New York State in 1894.

As can be seen, New York State was the pioneer in the movement to eliminate prison competition from the manufacturer and free labor; still, the good sought by this law has been and is considerably nullified by the fact that while we prohibit the leasing of the labor of our convicts, New York State is virtually the dumping ground for the commodities produced under the leasing system which obtains in several other nearby States, as, for example, Connecticut, Maine, Vermont, these being close enough to accentuate the fact that even if New York State has every intention of protecting free labor and fair employers, it is prevented from so doing to the fullest extent as long as the leasing system obtains in any State, and the goods are permitted to come in here for disposal.

To my mind, many, if not all, of the injustices and inhumanities to which the convict is subjected to-day were inherited from the brutalizing contract system, and while we admit that a long step in advance was made when the grafting contractor was eliminated by the introduction of the "State use" system, this beneficence, so far as real results are concerned, was somewhat nullified by the influence of the grafting politicians who began their work of "working" the State where the contractor left off from "working" the convict and State. Those desirous of informing themselves as to what is meant by "working" the State are respectfully referred to the proceedings which resulted in the removal of a State sales agent in the very recent past.

The trade union movement now, as in the past, stands for real constructive reform in its methods of dealing with prisons and prisoners, and such a reform, to be effective, we believe, must be national in character and be readily adaptable to any locality or condition, as is the plan outlined by the National Committee on Prison Labor. While this is a radical departure from the beaten path, you will find a vast majority of trade unionists far in advance of even this plan, advanced as it is.

Some of us are now so far advanced, perhaps foolishly so, that we believe that before a really constructive system can be made operative in our prisons, the people must be educated to the point of not considering a monetary cost for the moral, mental, physical and economic rehabilitation of the convict. It should be the object of any penal system to restore to society a sound, healthy unit in place of the vicious criminal, the victim of circumstances or environment, or the abnormal or defective, who has been deprived of his liberty for a law violation.

Where there is a financial consideration involved in any industrial reform, the human element is invariably neglected. This is as true of the prison problem as any other that now confronts us. Do we want good roads, we pay for them; do we want new buildings, we find the money for them; does an epidemic or disease come upon us, we combat it without thought of financial outlay, our sole object being the preserva-

tion of the human beings exposed to its danger; and so, if we are to do something really worth while for the reformation of the convict and make him a valuable asset to his family and society, we must ignore the money cost and keep in the foreground the one thought—he is human, one of ourselves—and we must spare no reasonable effort to bring out the best that is in him.

Our state prison population is approximately 4,700, a vast majority of whom can be beneficially employed to furnish supplies for the State and its subdivisions by the market which the State has created through the "State use" system, which is conservatively estimated by William Church Osborn at \$20,000,000. If the manufacturing and sales department of the prisons were established on a really sound business basis, instead of the present slipshod manner in which they are conducted, the convict would be in a position to learn some useful occupation, and at the same time the State could very well afford to pay him a fair wage for his labor, which could be used by him to maintain his dependents during his incarceration. Thus, by relieving him of all mental agony when he knew that his family was provided for during his enforced absence from them, his better nature would be bound to assert itself, and the resultant benefit to the State, society, the convict and his family is beyond computation so far as dollars and cents are concerned.

The trade unions heartily welcome a unification of all the forces honestly interested in this work, such as the National Commission on Prison Labor. We know from sad experience that societies and committees engaged in prison reform are very often honeycombed with agents of the contractors; yes, and even contractors, in more than one instance, have had the hardness to associate themselves with bodies engaged in this work.

These contractors have even attempted to manipulate our National Committee on Prison Labor, but fortunately they were unsuccessful. One gentleman was so bitter in his denunciation of the leasing system that he aroused suspicion, and investigation proved that through four "dummy" corporations he was interested financially in the contracts of two prisons. As recently as February 27th, I received an inquiry from a firm on the Pacific Coast as to what we could do to curtail the sale of prison-made goods that are placed upon the market by this particular firm.

In this great work there is room for all, but all must engage in it with the same spirit which guided the immortal Lincoln in his battle for emancipation; not as a fad or a passing fancy, but with the firm belief that you are engaged in correcting and eliminating a serious evil which works injustice and cruelty to your fellow men, and you must be strengthened with a firm resolve not to cease your efforts nor be swerved from your purpose until justice prevails.

Governor Glynn. Every other speaker has told you that when a man comes out of jail he is ostracized, tabooed, but I introduce to you Mr. Thomas Mott Osborne, Chairman New York Commission on Prison Reform, who has been praised, sanctified and apotheosized because he spent a week in the Auburn prison.

Mr. Osborne. I do not feel quite clear as to how I should approach the problem of prison reform before this audience, but I have come to the conclusion that I will begin by reading a letter which, during a short visit at Auburn prison yesterday, was handed me by one of the prisoners.

You have heard from Governors, from those in charge of institutions, from those who may be technically called outsiders. I bring this message from the man inside, the man behind the bars. I did not read the letter until to-day, but some of it, at least, I am sure you will be interested in. It is addressed to me and reads in part as follows:

AUBURN PRISON,
March 1, 1914.

My Dear Sir: I learn that you are to make an address before the Women's Department of the National Civic Federation on March 6th. On behalf of all the men confined in the prisons of this country, I thought it would be proper to ask you to read the following letter before that body in the hope that it might possibly bring home to some of those who listen the fact that, although confined in prison, we are still men; that we are still the same flesh and blood as the rest of the inhabitants of the world.

For years "prisons" and "prisoners" have been discussed by people who little realize what a prison really is, and what a prisoner may or can be. So-called penologists have written books and essays on the questions, their findings being based merely on statistical records, compiled from information received from the different institutions of the country, showing the national habits, size of ear, color of eyes and hair, etc., of the unfortunate called "convict."

People are becoming more and more interested in the problem of the man in prison, and I can only account for this on the ground that the spirit of brotherly love is spreading in the human heart.

But to properly discuss these questions people should be fully informed on what constitutes a prison, and what a convict really is.

From your own experience and investigations you can intelligently, without prejudice, and truthfully answer the question, "What is a Prison?" And I am quite sure that you can give a good answer on the "convict."

What manner of men are those that people outside the walls hold their breath, shiver, and shudder when the word "convict" or "ex-convict" is mentioned? We were born as human beings, raised by kind mothers in most cases, but we do not possess the stamina to overcome the passions and temptations that have assailed us. For this, society has seen fit to say: "To prison with him for a certain length of time," in most cases the length of the sentence depending upon the judge slept well the night before. For what reason? To give us the strength to overcome future temptations? To teach us a lesson? To stop others from doing what we have done? Or to break down our spirits and make a man or woman into a slave? The latter reason must remain, in my opinion, as the desire of society to not reform, but to punish and degrade.

I myself, come under what society calls a "dyed-in-the-wool criminal," but I say that I am a living example of the inefficiency of the prison system to reform a man. Punishment has failed to reform; therefore, why not try some other medicine? You say, "We must punish you!" But you are continually punishing when you send a man to prison. The prison is not a home. But the people dependent on him; the fond mother, and father, the beloved wife and the unprotected children, are the ones who really have to suffer—the innocent loved ones, whom the state is robbing of the hard earned labor proceeds of the man in prison.

We have before us the constitution of our different states, and therein incorporated we find the executive clemency clause. But how do we see it administered? I do not want to put our present Governor or any other Governor in an improper light, and I readily understand that our Governor has a lot of other things to think about besides the men confined in prison. But if they would only stop to consider what it means to serve a year, five, ten or twenty years in a small three-by-seven cell, and what the family and friends of the men must go through—

I mean CONSIDER it—not merely think about it, they would feel more like extending this clemency which the people have entrusted to them. And they say, "We want the endorsement of the judge and district attorney." True, this might be a good thing, but we all know that there are some men in this world besides the convict who do not like to change their opinion when they have formed them, and it is sometimes impossible for a judge or district attorney to endorse an application for executive clemency, though it may be a most deserving case, because they feel that they have done right, even if they have been in error.

But why ask the judge or district attorney for their recommendations at all? Their interest in a criminal case should end when judgment has been pronounced. The people did not contemplate that the judges or district attorneys would have anything to do with the extending of executive clemency, or they would have incorporated this in their constitutions. They showed their wisdom, however, in leaving the Governor, if opportunity should ever arise, to make a timely point an impartial consideration in any applications for executive clemency. At the present time such cases are referred to what is called a "pardon clerk"; but no one man ought to pass on the thousands of cases which come up. An unbiased commission, the members of which could be changed from time to time, could properly handle the question and present to the Governor such cases as, in their opinion, after proper investigation, were worthy of clemency. Such a Commission would be of more service to the State of New York or any other state than some of the sky-isms which are appropriate to executive clemency.

Now, let us get it to be assumed for a moment that I am seeking executive clemency. I can not, never have, and will not. I have but sixteen months to stay here, and my time is occupied at present in a work which is very dear to me, because it is giving me a chance to amend for the errors of my past life in the endeavor to be of some service to my fellow unfortunates. But I do want it understood that I am pleading for the greater exercise of this clemency for the prisoners throughout the country, not only in this state, but in every state in the Union. I only wish that you could transport yourselves for one moment into a prison cell to-night. I know what your thoughts then, and what I mean when I say that men who are condemned to death are not fit to be in the same cell with men who are condemned to life. Little do you people imagine what the night in the "Jail" as we call the dark cell, meant to him and to us. I challenge other men to undergo that punishment. He does not exaggerate when he states that it makes maniacs out of men, beasts out of human beings. Think of the spectacle of a man driving a nail into his nose to cause a flow of blood in order to drink the same to quench his thirst, or of thrusting his mouth into a toilet bowl to drink the water—even drinking an infected fluid from the slop jar! Only gill of water a day! How you would live a good master? I say, it would be if you could live on it for one day, two days, three, six, nine, yes and fourteen days, in a dark hole, without bed or bed clothing; simply a bare floor, and rivets projecting from the floor! You may not believe this, but we can produce the evidence. I say that death is preferable to this form of punishment, because this breaks down the mind as well as the body, and causes life-long suffering.

I hope to God that this movement which you people are interesting yourselves in will assume some concrete form, and that legislation will be enacted which will be better to the men in prison. I do not mean to say that we will not be able to do this, but I do mean to say that we will not be able to take into consideration the one-cent-and-a-half-a-day proposition, nine cents a week, four dollars and a half a year! What mockery, what injustice! I see men all around me doing work that they would be getting three, four and five dollars a day on the outside for, and the State is paying them one cent and a half a day. And when they violate a rule, the State takes away from them the earnings of years. The State robbing the man who has robbed someone else! That's the system all down the line. You cheat some one, I tell you, I go to prison and the State robs me.

To go back to the subject of clemency, I have been twice times in prison. But I claim that down deep in my heart there is smoldering the flame of righteousness, that needed only the proper kindly treatment in the start to make a man of me. But your prison system has failed to do me any good.

You might ask me what I consider the proper medicine for such a case. I answer, the indeterminate sentence, properly administered. Give the man a chance to work out his own redemption, his own salvation, and when he can show to a parole board or any other commission that he has trained his mind to the right course, let him go under proper supervision to work out his destiny. Create a sys-

tem in your prisons that will bring out the best that is in a man. Cease trying to degrade him. Put the question squarely up to the man himself and you need have no fear of the result.

(Signed) S. RICHARDS, No. 31,922.

As I say, this letter was handed to me yesterday. I did not look at it until to-day, and I felt it was my duty to bring it before you this evening. I have but little time now left to make an address, but I shall say a few words as the Chairman of the Commission on Prison Reform. I shall enumerate very briefly some of the points to which I want to call the attention of legislators and those friends of the prison who can create public sentiment.

I have visited several English prisons, and they are admirably run. They start from the same basis as we do, the basis of punishment; but they do the thing well while we do it badly, and I am grateful for the fact that we do it badly. Because there is all the more reason to hope that we shall soon turn and adopt a different principle.

The end and sin of every one of us should not be sentimentalism. It is not merely a question of giving the convict better food, although they ought, of course, to have decent food. The most important question is not where he shall lodge, except that we ought not to shut him up in a cell, three and one-half feet by seven and one-half feet, because that means an absolute physical deterioration which must react upon his moral and his mental condition. Those men in Auburn prison are in their cells for sixteen hours out of the twenty-four—fourteen hours at a stretch. My own feelings while in prison were not so much for myself, but rather the horror of it was grounded upon my feeling, that if it is so terrible to me the first night in six, what can it be to the men to whom it is the first night of six thousand? And all prisoners will tell you, the nervous strain of that first night in prison is something he never forgets to his dying day.

We want the indeterminate sentence because we think it is just as absurd for a judge to try to decide what percentage of the perfect criminal the man before him is, as it is for a doctor to say how long a case of smallpox or typhoid fever ought to stay in a hospital; and because the indeterminate sentence is the only way to prevent these men coming back into society, and then back to the prison, then again back to society and again back to the prison—this infernal endless chain that is going on.

Governor, of the 1,401 men in the Auburn prison, over sixty-one per cent. are second and third termers! You know what that means. It means the whole system is a sham and a fraud. It does not prevent society from being preyed upon, because it sends the man back from prison less able to get along in society than when he went in. We want the indeterminate sentence so that a man may have a chance to work out his own salvation. If he is too vicious he should not prey upon society, but he should be kept behind the bars.

We want a State Department of Correction, into which all these

various organizations for correction should be brought under one head and suitable management. We do not want all these cross-purposes—this extravagance of administration which comes from a large number of different powers with all sorts of varying duties. And connected with such a department should be a different arrangement of the county jails, so that the young man held there merely on suspicion shall not be thrown into the association with old offenders.

We want every man who is sentenced under the indeterminate sentence to go first to a receiving station, where his case shall be properly examined; where, if he has physical disease, he shall not be allowed to mingle with the other prisoners and spread that disease broadcast, as he is doing now. If a man is mentally deficient he shall be placed in an institution which is especially adapted for the mental deficient. In other words, we should have some sort of scientific and sensible classification; and then we want a new type of prison.

I was reading an old book the other day, printed back in 1850, and written in 1844. The writer, who was an assistant matron in the women's prison which was then in the upper part of the Sing Sing prison, went on to say that Sing Sing was worn out, and that the prison was in a frightful condition; that it was damp and unhealthy. This was in 1844, and the whole extract sounds as if it might have been written to-day.

Let's have no more of it. Sing Sing is not fit for a State prison. It is one of the greatest outrages upon civilization that exists in this State to-day. We want Sing Sing as a prison abolished, and we want farms connected with all the prisons, so that farm work should be the basis of prison labor.

We want some kind of a natural social system. We do not believe that there is any fundamental improvement when you merely replace a brutal autocrat by a benevolent autocrat; because you are not really training a man to come out into the world if he is bossed by any autocrat at all. There ought to be some form of self-government in the prison, so that a man can learn how to get along in natural society, the kind he is going to meet when he comes out of prison.

We want an intelligent labor system with the men paid full wages for their work, and then let them pay for their board and lodging. One reason why men go back to prison is because, when they come out, they do not know the value of money. Because the very first thing they do is to throw away the money which they have earned in prison, or which the State gives them. You will find, time after time, men will have spent all their money by the end of the first twenty-four hours simply because they have not learned how to save. And why should they? For ten or fifteen years they may not have handled a piece of money, or anything that represented a piece of money. When you have an intelligent labor system, your men will be paid just as other people are paid, and they will pay just as other people have to pay, so that they will learn the things that are necessary if a man is going to get along in society.

It has not been the legislature's fault, nor has it been the fault of our Governors, but it is the fault of you and me that these conditions exist. I will tell you truly, that the worst suffering that I felt during the fourteen hours that I spent in the punishment cell in Auburn prison was due to the feeling that I, too, was to blame for the misery that those cells had seen. I, too, had lived there in the shadow of the prison all my life while those outrages were going on, and what had I been doing about it? I was placidly pursuing my own business, and I was not my brother's keeper.

Then I agree with my friend in offering for the Governor's consideration the question of a pardon board, of an advisory committee on pardons. There is a considerable number of men in the State's prison that ought not to be there. They would be better off outside, and the community would be better off if they were outside. Now, those men's sentences should be commuted. They should get out of prison and be given a chance. I am not in favor of tearing down the prison walls. There are plenty of men outside of prison that might well take their places. If I had my way, I would increase the prison population.

Before closing I just want to bear down once more on this question of self-government, because there is the key to your problem. There is the key to the prison problem. The reason why our prisons have been a failure is because we have not treated those men like men. We have treated them like beasts. But if we are going to treat them like men, you must give them a man's prerogative, and trust them. The honor system shows that they are capable of bearing their trust, but much that goes under the name of the honor system stops short of the full measure of success.

They are coming out in New York State at the rate of fifteen hundred a year, and we must train them to take their places in society. We must give them inside the prison walls a just amount of freedom. There is a sentence once written by Gladstone to John Morley, which is just as applicable to the prisons as to the schools, and which sums up the whole question. The sentence is this: "It is liberty alone that fits men for liberty!"

Mrs. BACON. There were certain principles for which we stood here which have been so ably and so forcibly given by the last speaker that it seems hardly necessary to go back to them, but there is just one thing I wish to speak of, a question where women should surely have a voice, "The prison farm for women should be developed to its highest efficiency." That I think is something that has not been yet mentioned, and which I think we all should stand for.

Citizens of this city and State, rejoice deeply for the assurance given us to-night by our Governor that we can count upon his hearty co-operation in securing so far as now can be attained, the reform of our present prison system, and we thank you, Governor, for this assurance.

SECOND CONFERENCE.

MORNING SESSION, HELD IN THE HOTEL ASTOR, NEW YORK CITY,
MARCH 7TH, 1914.

The Conference assembled at 10.30 A. M. Mrs. Francis McNeil Bacon, Jr., in the Chair.

MRS. BACON.—Before I call upon the speakers who are going to have five minutes each on different topics here this morning, I want to state very briefly some of the objects in the matter of Prison Reform which call for the active interest of our Woman's Department. It seems to us that New York demands above all, as the next steps in prison reform, the abolition of Sing Sing as a convict prison and the establishment of a farm industrial prison on wide acreage.

Second, the mental and industrial training which shall equip the convict later for self-support in the community.

Third, that the labor of convicts shall be in part only forfeit to the State; part should go to the dependents, or failing these, saved for self-support upon release.

Fourth, that in no State shall prison labor enter into competition with free labor.

Fifth, that penal and reformatory institutions shall be divorced from politics; the entire jail system should be reorganized, the jails made sanitary for mind and body, and last but not least, a question where women should surely have a voice, the development of the present farm for women to its highest possible efficiency. Do they not need this for their upbuilding as much as the men? Dr. Katharine Bement Davis has proved what outdoor employment can mean to women.

Having stated the principles on which we in our Woman's Department stand, I will now call upon Dr. Lewis to speak to you for five minutes. I am sorry that much as we should like to hear longer from these gentlemen, we shall have to make it five-minute periods, and we will have to keep pretty strictly to our allotted time if we are to get through our programme. Dr. Lewis will speak to us on the Abolition of Sing Sing Prison and the Establishment of a Farm Industrial Prison.

Mr. LEWIS. Madam Chairman, ladies and gentlemen: I am fortunate in one way in that the five-minute speech that I might give you is printed, and that it is before you. The statement that you have in your hands, "Sing Sing must go," represents the standpoint of the Prison Association, and so I may have one minute in which to state, first, the appreciation of the members of the board of managers of my Associa-

tion that the Woman's Department of The National Civic Federation should undertake an important work like this of interesting people in general in prison reform.

I have been in New York for some years now and have been enthusiastic at the general progress of prison reform, but I do not think that any single instance has developed in the eight years that I have been here that is comparable, in the matter of the benefit to, and progress of prison reform, to these public conferences, these three meetings, and particularly the one of last night. Secondly, I want to say, that it seems to me that a very striking step in advance was taken last night when Governor Glynn came out so tangibly in his recommendations for prison reform. It is a matter of great gratification, certainly to all of us who have constantly worked at the thing, that the Governor should be so definite; that he should say Sing Sing should be abolished; and that he should make such definite recommendations as he did.

Now, I want to make a statement in regard to Sing Sing. The State of New York is sick of hearing about Sing Sing; it wants to hear about a prison in *place* of Sing Sing, and there are two very distinct or different issues: First, shall Sing Sing be abolished as a permanent prison? Secondly, shall the site of Sing Sing be used for one of the most progressive ideas of the day, namely, the establishment of a temporary reception prison, a distributing prison where persons shall be confined until such time as it may be decided which one of the several institutions of the state they shall be committed to?

Now, so far as the abolition of Sing Sing goes, it seems to me that that question is four-fifths settled. Everybody connected with prison reform wants something done about Sing Sing. The question is still debated whether Sing Sing should be rebuilt or whether it should go into the country. But if you analyze the arguments in favor of the completion or the renovation of Sing Sing at its present site, you will find that they run something like this:

Will Sing Sing Prison be as healthful as a prison in the country? The answer is, "It is cheaper." Will Sing Sing Prison have as extended a classification of prisoners as is possible in a wide acreage prison, such as those being planned in a number of other states? The answer is, "It is cheaper." Will Sing Sing Prison be able to develop as does Great Meadow? And the answer is, "It is cheaper." Will Sing Sing Prison be able to develop on the group system, which is now being suggested for a new prison? The answer is, "It is cheaper." And so if you run right down along the line of arguments in favor of the retention of Sing Sing or the rebuilding of the cell block at Sing Sing, you will find that the main argument—and it is an honest argument—that the main argument is one of economy.

Now in some instances the state cannot afford to be too economical, and so far as the argument of economy is concerned, it is not at all proved that a farm prison is going to be less economical than a prison rebuilt along the old style, of which Mr. Osborne and others have told you, the

old bastile cell-block style which carries in every cell-block hundreds and hundreds of cells.

It seems to me that the time has come to face courageously the fact that all over the country, institutions, new institutions, new farm industrial prisons are being planned. New Jersey, Pennsylvania, District of Columbia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, are some of the states that are planning the farm prison, the industrial prison, and mind you, not simply a farm prison but a farm industrial prison with wide acreage.

Governor West comes on from Oregon; Dr. Gilmour, with his pathetically sore throat, comes on to us from Toronto, one of our most brilliant speakers, and who was incapacitated last night, unfortunately, to tell us about the things that are going on elsewhere. The State of New York cannot afford to profit simply by its own experience and not go abroad to find out what other states are doing.

MR. BACON. As the next speaker, Mr. Thomas Mott Osborne will have two subjects to speak on, the time accorded to him will be ten minutes.

MR. OSBORNE. I am glad to have a chance of supplementing what I said last night, particularly in the direction of self-government.

The other subject that was assigned to me, the development of the indeterminate sentence, seems to me to be a comparatively simple proposition. There cannot be very much argument after you once seize upon the idea, and the idea is very simple; it is, that a man shall be adjudged not guilty of so much *percentage* of crime, but guilty of having done an unsocial act. Instead of trying to make "the punishment fit the crime," which the Mikado of Japan in Gilbert's delightful comic opera long ago found to be impossible, we should simply decide a very simple proposition, and that is, that the man has done an unsocial act; and therefore society, having the right to protect itself, must exile him for an indefinite period, because society cannot afford to have that man come back again until he is fit to re-enter society.

The moment you come to analyze it, the moment you come to ask what power there is that has been given to a judge to determine how guilty is any particular soul that comes before him, you see that it is perfectly impossible even for the man's best friends to know how guilty he is. We have hundreds of judges, each one with his own idea of what ought to be done, experimenting on the men that come before him, without the least real knowledge of what should be done. And the result is—a deadly feeling of resentment among the prisoners; because in each man's particular case he believes that he has been "soaked harder" than the next fellow.

You will find that almost every man in states prison will admit that although he may not have done the particular thing for which he was sent away, he ought to be sent away from society; after some time these prisoners do resent the treatment they receive and they resent the sentences that they get in relation to those that somebody else has got. All

that will be excluded by the indeterminate sentence. You would simply find whether the man did the deed; then if he did, send him to the receiving station and find out there whether he is mentally deficient, and what sort of an institution he ought to go to. Then put and keep him there until he is ready to come back into society again. The difficulty in understanding the proposition is that it is so simple; that is all.

Now in regard to the self-government plan now working in Auburn Prison. I did not make any reference to this last night, and purposely. The prisoners at Auburn are fully alive to the importance of the experiments they are making and are interested in it down to the very soles of their feet; and they keep saying to me, "Now, Mr. Osborne, don't say too much about this; we want to wait and show what we have done. We want to show an accomplishment. It is only the thin edge of the wedge we have driven in up there; but still the wedge has gone in a good deal farther up to the present time than I had dared to hope. In other words, the movement is going faster; going so fast that it makes you feel a little breathless once in a while. Lately, when the Warden proposed to turn over the minor discipline of the prison to the Welfare League, it made us all gasp.

I did not feel that we were ready for it; and yet, when it was suggested by the "powers that be," as far as I was concerned, I did not propose to shirk the difficulty. When it was presented to the authorities of the League it made a sensation; and immediately the prison began to buzz with the question, "Are we to have our officers report the misdeeds of their brother prisoners?" In other words, they thought it was a sort of stool-pigeon business that we were proposing to put upon them. So a week ago last Sunday a meeting of the League was held in which all the fourteen hundred men came together without any officers—fourteen hundred convicts, mind you—and if you do not think it is a job to preside over a meeting of fourteen hundred convicts without any officers present, you might go up and try it. Fully forty or fifty spoke from the little platform at the foot of the stage. We had the warmest discussion that I have heard in a public meeting for a long time. Of course, it was of vital interest to them and every man was full of his subject and full of his speech. We had to limit the speeches to five minutes, and the final result was that by a very large majority they carried the acceptance of the proposition of the Warden that they should handle their own discipline. So self-government is fully started in the Auburn Prison.

On December 26 it began. You may be interested to know how it began. When I was in the prison I worked in the basket shop with a young fellow from New York here: a rough slum lad, who is now in prison serving a life sentence, named Jack Murphy. He is one of the finest fellows I ever met anywhere. It was Jack's idea that they should start a league; and it was not until he developed that idea and talked to me at some length that I realized that here was a practical way in which to introduce the self-government idea which had been a theory of mine for a long time. And following Jack's suggestion the league is now a

complete thing. On December 26 each company in the prison had a free and open election to elect members of a committee. It was a committee of forty-nine, every company having one committeeman, the larger companies two or three. That committee came together; and after the Warden had called them to order and they had elected me their chairman, he walked off and left the forty-nine prisoners and myself to discuss what the League should be and how it should be governed. The work of getting the by-laws into shape was given over to a sub-committee of twelve, and I have never worked with a number of men anywhere on any proposition which was conducted in so businesslike a manner, with such good feeling, with such admirable efficiency as they exhibited. There we had first and second termers, men committed for all sorts of crimes, but their minds and hearts were fully in this thing and they wanted to do it. The result was that the by-laws, which have so far proved very good indeed, were adopted by the committee of forty-nine; and then the whole body of the men accepted it. Then on February 12th, at the first meeting of the League, these fourteen hundred men marched from their cells to the main hall and assembly room, listened for two hours to music and speaking, marched back to their cells, and locked themselves in without a single officer in command. That was the first time; they have done it every Sunday since. And I tell you, when I look at that present audience from the platform, I cannot help but wonder at the change from last summer. Then, I thought it was the saddest and the grayest audience that I had ever seen. Now that is not true. The place is transformed, and the thing that has transformed it is the feeling among the men that they are *men*, that they can, within certain limits, have the right to say what they shall do and what they think and how they shall act; and if these wonders can be performed just by this little beginning of self-government, what cannot we expect when we have the full flower?

Mrs. BACON. I will now call upon Miss Alice C. Smith, who will speak to us on the Development of Probation in New York City.

Miss SMITH. Madam Chairman, ladies and gentlemen. There are many things that I might have said to you this morning on probation, had I just a little bit more time. I have been a probation officer since 1902, and I am also frank to tell you that we have not given it the time and the attention, or devoted to it the high type of work, that it ought to have had.

In the first few years we considered the probation officer a voluntary officer, to stand between the person and the prison for a certain length of time. As time has gone on, and we have developed it, it has shaped itself more in the form of a Social Service Bureau, and we have dropped the notion of standing between the person and the prison or reformatory. We have not, however, developed, we have not suggested, and we have not selected, the high type of people we ought to have had.

First of all, we have not developed our system of keeping records and knowing what the different courts are doing. We ought to have a general probation bureau in New York for every line of probation work,

from the city magistrates' court up to our highest court, which shall start out with records from the magistrates' court and continue up to the higher. When I take on probation a person who may have been convicted in general sessions, I know nothing about it. We, therefore, ought to have a staff of capable men and women, with a bureau entirely outside of our trial courts where people could go and look up their records.

Young women, many times with one, two or three children, frequently come to the night court who have met a police officer out on the street; they are in some sort of trouble and ask the policeman's advice, and the policeman says: "You go down to the night court and talk to Miss Smith; she will tell you what to do." Sometimes I have to call up a hospital. Again, I have to call up various other different departments. Some of those are not open at night, and some are, of course. We ought to have a social service department in connection with probation work, open until probably twelve o'clock at night.

I went to the Tombs Court the other day in special sessions, with a girl that had stolen from one of the department stores. They sent for me in the magistrates' court. I went down, and found a sixteen-year-old girl who was there to ask the advice of the magistrate as to what to do for her mother, who was an invalid in a poorly furnished room with no means, showing that we are a social service department as well as officially attached to the court. Now it seems to me, that instead of a policeman sending a girl like that to the Tombs—of all places, you would think a girl of sixteen years would have a perfect horror of it, but she did not seem to—that she ought to have a place to go to where she could have the advice that she wanted. Of course, it is not necessary to say, but her idea of how to get advice was to go to court and ask the magistrate. If there were a bureau where she could go, or where we could send people, a group of social workers, she would have gone there instead of going to the Tombs. And so I have felt for a long time, that we ought to have a group of social workers in connection with courts. If we could get in touch with one member of a family we could find out whether some one else in that family needed our advice and needed to be looked after.

When I began to talk "woman's court" in 1908, some of our very best magistrates on the bench said, "Oh! Miss Smith, that would seem sentimental; be conservative!" I have realized for some time that we must specialize in our work in the courts as we do in all other lines of social work. To-day we have the woman's court and we have the men's court, and I am frank to say that I do think the woman's court has probably brought more people to look into this question of our prisons and reformatories and the different procedures of the courts and how they are carried on, than any other one thing we have ever had in New York State, because people could go there; sometimes out of curiosity, but not always, by any means. People have come there who have become interested. I know of individual cases where women have become deeply interested in this work, and if the night court has done nothing else it has interested the people in the courts.

MRS. BACON. It gives me great pleasure to call upon Mrs. Caroline B. Alexander to say a few words to us.

MRS. ALEXANDER. I want, if I may, to say just a word about two experiments which are being carried on in New Jersey along the lines which have been spoken of. In the first place, the proposition of getting the persons out of the prisons, and the next a place of putting them to work. It happens that my brother is commissioner of roads in New Jersey, and he has made a very interesting experiment in taking men from the state prison at Trenton, which is quite as bad in its cells and in many other respects as any prison can be, and he has placed these men out on the roads in two counties as very interesting experiments.

Our second experiment is the New Jersey State Reformatory for Women at Clinton, which has been open for about one year. In the first place, we have a very high percentage of brains; we have not anything like the percentage of feeble-mindedness of which Dr. Davis spoke. That is explained by the fact that we get women for felonies; we do not get the misdemeanants. As soon as we do take this class, which we hope eventually to do—from the penitentiaries, the drunks and disorderlies, the women that are getting thirty, sixty and ninety days—when those come, the percentage of feeble-mindedness will undoubtedly increase. We did a large proportion of farm work last summer, and we are also trying to start a school along the lines of Mr. Falconer's and Dr. Davis' idea as far as we can with limited means.

We have a psychologist who goes out and visits the homes of all the girls and makes most interesting reports on the mental condition of the girls, on the life history as she finds it in their homes, and the treatment which she recommends after they leave. Although we are small in numbers, we try to get into the lives and the characters and the training and the history of the girls before they come to us and follow them very closely after they get out. It seems to me that that is very largely where such a system as we are all trying to secure for our reformatories is going to fail or succeed.

After all, as soon as the girl or boy or woman leaves the reformatory on probation it becomes exactly the same problem that we have in the placing-out system of dependent children in the State of New Jersey, where we have had a placing-out system for our dependent children for the last thirteen years. From our experience it is found that a system of that kind absolutely stands or falls on the visiting in the homes and on seeing that the individual fits that home.

Mrs. BACON. I will now call upon Deputy Commissioner Winters, of the Department of Agriculture, who will speak to us on the development of prison farms in connection with Auburn and Clinton prisons.

MR. WINTERS. The State of New York now owns forty-one farms connected with the different state institutions. These farms contain about 23,000 acres of land. For the year ending September 30, 1912, they made a profit of \$304,000. The rate of profit made by all of them as a total was 13.1 per cent. As a state we should be very proud of these

results. But no matter how much satisfaction we take in what has been done, there are even greater opportunities ahead of us. State institutions are still buying \$225,000 worth of milk a year. All this could be produced better and cheaper on our own farms than we are getting it to-day. We are buying \$1,000 worth of butter a day and \$1,000,000 worth of meat each year. The production of these and other products that we are purchasing deserves serious consideration.

Now, let us consider one phase of the prison labor problem. I know a tract of land about eight miles long and one mile wide. This contains 5,000 acres of swamp land. There is very little fall for that distance of eight miles, but if you go a mile and a quarter south you find a fall of something like thirty-two feet. At a glance you see that this is a large problem for an individual but a comparatively simple one for the State. This ground can and should be drained. When this is done, 5,000 acres are added to the State of New York. In a sense New York State is 5,000 acres larger. That land is assessed to-day at \$10 an acre and probably does not pay interest on anywhere near that amount. When that land is properly drained, it is worth more than \$100 an acre and will pay a handsome dividend on far above that price.

Here we could produce garden vegetables, milk, butter, beef, pork, potatoes, fruit, poultry and eggs for our public institutions in cities, where it is impossible to get enough land. Now, how shall we work this farm? I believe that we can go into our prisons and select men who have family ties at home, men whose sentence soon expires, men who have financial ties, men who cannot afford to run away, men who have done wrong at a time of great stress but who can be trusted to work in the open. I do not believe it would be wise to work them under guard or lock them up at night. The only punishment should be a return to the prison from which they came, if they do not measure up to our plan. As soon as these men and this farm are self-supporting, I would establish a pay-roll so that each man would be able to save something for the future or send a check home to his family regularly.

I would establish an intensively cultivated vegetable garden, a modern sanitary dairy farm and an up-to-date swine establishment. Here I would practice the best systems of crop rotation, equip a modern poultry plant and establish a fruit farm. Then we could teach these men to become practical farmers by doing the actual work themselves. When it is time for them to leave, I believe their labor will be in great demand on other farms or that they will be able to manage places for themselves with pleasure and profit.

Mrs. BACON. I will now, after expressing the hope that Dr. Gilmour feels better than he did yesterday evening, ask him to speak to us for five minutes on Prison Farms.

MR. GILMOUR. Madam Chairman, ladies and gentlemen: Your indulgence is only equalled by your kindness. Mr. Winters said that he did not know anything about prison reform; he doesn't need to—he has got the essence of it.

We have a farm ten miles out of Toronto consisting of four hundred acres where we send what is commonly termed the "ne'er do wells," the thirty day repeaters, the sixty day repeaters and the ninety day repeaters. A year ago last summer the farmers in this locality could not get sufficient labor to harvest their crops and in their extremity they came down to the jail farm to ask the Superintendent if he could give them some men. The Superintendent first made certain that the men who were applying for this labor were reputable men and would give the proper supervision to the hands who might be entrusted to their care, and he sent out a considerable number of his inmates for months at a time, and those men averaged thirty-five dollars a month in addition to their maintenance. This \$35 a month was paid to the Superintendent, who passed it on to the families of these men, and the families of those men lived better under those conditions than they had lived for many years previously. It only shows that the large class of rounders who come to our penal institutions require supervision; it is not shutting up in a cell they want; it is management they want; it is work, fresh air they want.

Every sociologist as a rule has a certain line that he is pursuing. I perhaps have two hobbies: one is, I am an uncompromising enemy of cell life for 85 per cent. of the average prison population; the other is, I advocate with all the force at my command outdoor life for developing reformation.

Mr. Winters spoke of a farm that could be developed in New York State. We had a thousand acres of land eight miles out of Fort William, that is, at the head of Lake Superior. As we bring out inmates from 1,200 miles west it costs us a great deal to bring short termers this distance and send them back again. The Government had a thousand acres of land that had been lumbered over; the timber had been taken off of it; it was all stump and brush. We took out forty prisoners from the jail; we let them build their own lodging houses. We started clearing this land and inside of six weeks we had a garden growing. We have already cleared up 400 acres of that thousand, and we can get to-day \$100 an acre for it.

MRS. BACON. I will now call upon Brother Barnabas of Lincolndale who will speak to us on Farm Work with Boys.

BROTHER BARNABAS. I feel a little out of place at this meeting, as it seems to be dealing with the adult. I have had no experience in dealing with such. My time is entirely devoted to the boy under sixteen, with a view of preventing him from becoming a criminal. We have found that agricultural training provides a most efficacious means of turning the wayward boy from evil ways, and concentrating his attention on the means to enable him to make an honest living.

Many of these boys, we find, do not take kindly to the mechanical trades; it takes so long before they are able to see anything worth while with their hands, whereas in agriculture, from the moment they enter into this work, especially during the growing season, they can see the fruits of their own labors. Again, there is such a diversity of occupa-

tion in agriculture that it gradually leads the boy into habits of continued industry, and most of the boys we have to handle are the delinquent cases, whose great fault has been the inability to concentrate the mind on a particular thing. The constant tendency of boys to go to work, and at the first signs of difficulty or pressure of work to "chuck up the job," leads them when they become of age to be in the position of not knowing enough of one thing to enable them to make an honest living. The extreme difficulty which the healthy American boy is under in order to lead an honorable life and keep within bounds in the city, prompted us to get into the country where the boy could move about without violating ordinances, and where by a thorough training in agriculture, we could develop the boy into a self-respecting, self-supporting citizen, and the country is very much in need of such. The problem is to get the boy in time to do something with him.

In most instances, in the case of the boys sent to us, we remember that the boy has had little or no home training, and that those who are now over them are replacing the parents. We are very much inclined to say to this boy that we are in parental relation to him. Well, sometimes we say that and do not act the part. In order to rehabilitate these poor backward boys, we must really be in parental relation to them, in just the same degree that the parental relation applies in the normal family home.

We were able to change the name of our institution; we called it a "School," and such it is in the best sense. The word "Reformatory" has the effect in the minds of the public, due to press work, of having a certain stigma. On applying for work, people would say "you are from such and such a place," and immediately the applicant would be dropped. We tell our boys that their past is wiped out. "No one at our place, not even an assistant, has any knowledge of your past: you do not need to speak of it, for you are now on a par with any man's boy, if you are doing right."

We retain the individuality in the boy from his hair to the soles of his feet. A barber comes and cuts his hair the way he wants it done, and without the institution clip. No two suits of clothes are alike. It does not cost any more, but it adds so much more to the boy's self-respect to have his own outfit, and not have a bright, smart appearing boy find himself clothed in what probably had been worn by a slovenly boy the week before. Every boy with his own outfit; every boy with his own personality; not lumped together, but every boy treated as an individual.

MRS. BACON. I will now call upon Professor Franklin H. Briggs, Superintendent of the New York State Training School for Boys, and ask him to speak on the Completion of the State Industrial Farm Colony, the State Reformatory for Misdemeanants, and the State Training School for Boys.

MR. BRIGGS. Madam Chairman, ladies and gentlemen: I am very glad that Brother Barnabas preceded me because he laid the foundation

for some of the things I want to say. Those of you who were present at the meeting last evening heard Governor Glynn say that he was in favor of the completion of the New York State Training School for Boys, the Farm Colony for Tramps and Vagrants, Reformatory for Male Misdeemants and other institutions. For the past five years the State of New York has had possession of a beautiful tract of land in Westchester County, New York. It was purchased for the purpose of affording a home in the country for so-called "bad boys." That land to-day lies there without any buildings upon it; primarily, for three of the five years, because there were not adequate appropriations made to go on with the buildings; for the last two years, because officials of the state have failed to provide the plans and specifications for the buildings which the Legislature has provided the funds to build.

Now this body is interested in prison reform; and I appeal to the members of this Association, to interest yourselves, and make it your business that that \$400,000 which is to-day available for buildings and improvements at the State Training School for Boys be made effective by transmuting that money into buildings, to care for poor unfortunate boys.

Won't you write to the State Architect of the State of New York and ask him to hasten the plans and specifications for the buildings and improvements for the New York State Training School for Boys?

It is proposed to erect upon this tract of nearly five hundred acres, separate cottages in which groups of sixteen boys, mainly from New York City, shall live. These sixteen boys are to live there in charge of a man and wife who will sustain to them, just as nearly as possible, the relation of father and mother. They are to be kindly, sympathetic people who are interested in boys; who are interested in finding out the good in every boy and helping it to come to the surface.

These boys out there are to come in contact with farm animals, and there is no more humanizing element than simply coming in contact with farm animals, and I am sorry Brother Barnabas did not tell you some of the experiences of his boys. It has been my privilege for the last thirty-three years to deal with boys, and my privilege to take boys from the city of Rochester where they were confined in a prison, out to a tract of fourteen hundred acres of land in the country, and place them there in farm homes, give them the association of animals, give them the inspiration that comes from country life, and I know what country life and country associations do for boys. I have seen a bad boy become so interested in the cows that he forgot entirely about being bad. I have seen him become so interested in a coop of pigeons that all his spare time that formerly he devoted to making trouble was devoted to these pigeons and we had no more trouble with him.

Mrs. BACON. Dr. Whitin will now speak to us on the Proper Payment of Prisoners and the Development of a Sensible Labor System.

MR. WHITIN. We are all committed, I believe, to the idea of paying wages to the convicts, taking from their wages the cost of their

maintenance and sending to their wives and children the surplus. We all believe in it; the difficult thing is how to accomplish it. Wages must come from somewhere; they have to come out of profit and profit must be had before you can pay wages. Wages are not charity. Therefore, you have the practical business problem which I tried to present at the meeting yesterday. It is the problem of prompt management. We need to have the minds of business men concentrated on this business problem of the State.

Our convict farm problem, the waste land problem, the swamps and forests must be worked out in a big way. This will solve in part the industrial problem, but added to it must be a system of manufacturing for the needs of the state institutions and the sub-divisions of the State. You have had that explained to you: to make that work efficient and effective wages have to be paid.

Now you have been told on this platform that New York State gives a wage of a penny and a half a day. This is true, but the Law of New York State does not give a penny and a half a day, it gives 10 per cent. of the profit. The Prison Department has been slow in working out what is due the convict, or working out any system which will give incentive and enthusiasm to the man in his work. They have thought it too difficult. I agree with them that it is difficult, but that is just the reason for working it out. We do not need more laws on the statute books. Let us take what we have and apply them. Let me illustrate.

At Sing Sing a year or so ago the convicts in the boot and shoe shop figured out what the law gave them as a wage. The law says that 10 per cent. of the profits of that industry should go to them as wage. They were getting a cent and a half a day. The profits of that shop, worked out as any business shop would, would give each one of those men 10 cents a day. They claim that the State was robbing them of 8½ cents a day. It is true, but you say 10 cents a day is not a wage that will support them. No. What was the trouble in the boot and shoe shop at Sing Sing?

The Prison Department had available \$1,000,000 that it could spend, yet they failed to invest \$1,000 in putting in one machine necessary to improve the whole efficiency of the shop. With the addition of that \$1,000 machine the output of that shop could have been raised double the amount, a gain of \$30,000. Therefore we have lost \$29,000 by inefficiency which could have helped to pay wages to the convict—under the more efficient system, and with the proper machinery the wages of the convicts would have been \$6,000.

Let me take you one step further; if you feel that you are not being treated right do you work hard at anything? No more the convict. Those fellows, if they had felt that they were getting a fair deal would have worked twice as hard and they would have been worth twice the wages.

Now for a practical suggestion. Mr. Osborne has introduced self-government at Auburn. It has only started, yet I believe the self-gov-

erment idea can help work out this industrial side. We do not need at once new laws on the statute books; we do not need to start with even the Prison Department at Albany; we need that group of his boys there in Auburn to figure out in the shop what the law of the state entitles them to, and after they have found out, if the Prison Department does not give them what the law requires, we will find out about the Prison Department. When they have found out what the law entitles them to, and they have had an incentive to work it out, their efficiency will have increased so much that a great many of the other industrial problems that are presented to us can be worked out efficiently and effectively and we can be ready for the broad legislation which some of us are planning for a year or two from now.

Mrs. BACON. I will now call upon the Hon. Joseph P. Byers to speak to us on the same subject.

Mr. BYERS. Ladies and gentlemen: New Jersey, since 1911, has had upon its statute books recognition of the principle of payment to prisoners of a portion of their earnings. That law has not yet become effective, and it was not expected it would become effective, until the present contract system expired. Those contracts are to expire on the 1st of July next.

There is pending before the Legislature a series of bills providing for a general reorganization of our prison system. These bills provide not only for the payment of a portion of the earnings to the prisoners in our state prison and reformatory, but they aim to provide employment on public work for all convicted prisoners, including the misdemeanants.

As to earnings they provide: That the Board of Inspectors or Board of Managers or the freeholders of the county shall establish a wage system; the earnings of the prisoner to be used for one or all of the following purposes: First, support of the dependents of the prisoner; second, for the benefit of the prisoner at the time of his parole or discharge; third, for the repayment of the costs of trial, not to exceed \$25. There was a fourth provision contemplated but finally omitted, and that was indemnification to the injured party, when such indemnification had been ordered at the time of trial as a part of the sentence. We shall reach that point some day but it seemed best for the present that we should not attempt to do too much.

Now what we propose to do with our short term prisoners, these men and these women who have come to our county jails—you have heard, I suppose, all that you need to know of the county jail, what it is, the idleness and the viciousness of it—we propose that the freeholders in each county shall have authority to utilize the convicted misdemeanant serving sentence in our workhouses (we have three so-called county penitentiaries or workhouses) and the prisoners serving sentences in our county jails, upon public work; that means that they may be put to work upon the roads, upon farms or upon any public work that the county has to offer.

Now I am a strong believer in the idea that we must develop our system of county or district workhouses, houses of correction, peniten-

tiaries—call them what you like, the idea is the same—and place them under state direction. I think that with this in mind we must organize a *system, a penal system*, and that that penal system shall include our state institutions and our district institutions and our county institutions so that we can have over that system a centralized government and state control.

We wish that every district or county in New Jersey might have the facilities for employing, and through that employment reforming, the misdemeanant and caring for his dependents. We want our houses of correction placed in the open, where to the fullest extent these men and women will have the opportunity of being employed in agriculture and forestry, in clearing, ditching, draining, road making, in anything that brings them down to earth and close to nature.

Some of us believe that when we have organized such a system of institutions we must have a law that will provide for the accumulation of sentences for these rounders and that will stop our utterly foolish system of sending these men and women to our workhouses over and over again for thirty days and *thirty* days and *thirty* days or sixty days or ninety days. We call them rounders, and so they are. We should send them for constantly, and not too slowly, increasing sentences: on a second conviction double the first sentence; on a third, double the second, and on the fourth or later conviction give an indefinite sentence of from one to five years, providing for adequate parole supervision during the full time of five years. I would provide that the earnings of the prisoner should go to his family.

By the operation of such a law, compelling the judges to send every convicted misdemeanant to such an institution rather than to a county jail, we would reach the tramp, the bum, and the vagrant. I do not believe yet in the establishment of a state institution, a state farm for tramps and inebriates. But I do believe that through the system I have hastily outlined we shall reach the vagrant, the tramp, and the family deserter—what an opportunity to put him at work under compulsion and make him provide for the family that he wants to run off and leave! And this applies also to a very large extent to the inebriate, because each of these classes needs just the same thing—hard work every day, long enough continued to work the wrong germ out of the system and the right germ in.

Mr. MANNING. I am interested in the shirt industry in New Jersey. Mr. Byers spoke just now of the extension of the contracts in New Jersey to July 1st. Governor Fielder last year refused to renew the contracts and for the benefit of myself and others I would like to know how those contracts have been extended when the Governor refused to extend them, especially in the shirt line.

Mr. BYERS. We had nine contracts in New Jersey. One contract expired in October last; that contract was not renewed. There were eight contracts expiring between January 1st and March 31st, roughly. These contracts, or at least five of them, were extended by acting-Gov-

ernor Taylor, possibly upon the recommendation of the Commissioner of Charities and Correction, who did recommend it, to the 1st of July. That recommendation was made because it was better and is better to keep our men employed than to throw them into idleness. The 1st of July extension was given in order that the Legislature of New Jersey might have time to make the necessary appropriations to develop our farm, quarry, road, and industrial work.

Mrs. BACON. Does that answer Mr. Manning?

MR. MANNING. I am on the right road to finding out some other things. I thank you.

Mrs. BACON. I will now call upon Mrs. Emerson of the Women's Prison Association to speak to us on the Development of the Women's Farm at Valatie.

Mrs. EMERSON. I hold in my hand the report of the Women's Prison Association which shows that we are nearly seventy years old. All these seventy years, we have had a home where we have received women direct from prison when they chose to come, and, of course, we have these rounders that you have heard so much about.

Years ago we decided that there should be a place where these women under proper guidance could make of themselves useful citizens and therefore we originated the plan of the Bedford Reformatory which was established to receive girls from sixteen to thirty years of age. We then devoted ourselves to another project, to have a place where women over thirty could be received and cared for, and after long effort we succeeded in securing a farm at Valatie in this, New York State, for women misdemeanants.

The warden has been there for several years. Vegetables have been raised, the farm animals are all there—we are simply waiting to have another appropriation to furnish the cottages which already have light and heat and to continue the building of more cottages. We have asked for \$100,000 which we are hoping the Governor will grant. Charles H. Strong, the President of the City Club, saw him a few days ago and he promised that he would do the best he could.

Mrs. BACON. I will now call upon Governor West and ask him to speak to us for five minutes.

GOVERNOR WEST. Ladies and gentlemen: I want to first congratulate those who have brought about these several meetings and who are backing up this movement for prison reform in the State of New York. It is a big problem, but I believe, as I stated last night, that you are going to succeed.

Now I want to say this, that there is an impression abroad that the prison system—I mean the new prison system, is based upon sentimentalism. That is not so; it is based upon good business. You know if you take a horse and expect to work it, produce some thing, he has got to be shod in such a manner that his feet won't hurt and he must be cured and he must be well fed. Now the same thing holds good with a prisoner. If you are going to run your prison on a business basis, ex-

pect to get labor out of the men, you must keep them in a good healthy condition; they must be well shod and they must be given decent clothes.

I can remember out there in Oregon when there was no opportunity for the prisoners to take a bath; they crawled into a little narrow cell in their dirty underwear—think of it, week after week and month after month, and yet they managed to live under this condition.

As I left Oregon the Parole Board handed in a lot of recommendations for parole and pardons. I did not have time to investigate them, because I was running to catch the train to keep this appointment. But I have a young lady in the office who takes care of these matters in my absence. She is the pardoning power at present in the State of Oregon. She makes investigation of all those cases that were passed up to me before I left, and it is up to the young lady to say whether those men or that man shall be released from prison and upon her say alone he gets his release or he stays in prison. I want to say that each and every case will be carefully looked into and justice will be handed out just as well as if it were handed out by myself.

Mrs. LINDON W. BATES. It is the hope of the Civic Federation that this series of conferences of specialists will have impressed upon you that the supreme principle and policy and desire of the Woman's Department is to co-operate with every organization in the field. It is our hope that the mass meeting of last night will convince you that we wish also the support of the public. We want the co-operation of every individual in New York.

We have now come to the point where we must crystallize this movement into something of result and in crystallizing it we want the best knowledge, the best judgment, the best conservatism and also the best activity. We must have a competent group which will, with a great deal of care, consider every phase and aspect of the subject, including past problems, such as those brought up by our friend and ally of last night, Mr. Manning, in his recent speech. As a means to this end the following resolution is offered:

Moved: Madam Chairman, that the Chairman appoint as promptly as possible a Committee consisting of representatives of all organizations participating in the two days' conferences, and members of the Women's Department of the National Civic Federation, this Committee to develop a constructive legislative program and a campaign of education on Prison Reform throughout the State.

The resolution, having been duly seconded, was passed with no dissenting votes.

Mrs. BACON. These meetings, which I hope will be productive of very excellent results, have now come to an end, but I do not feel that it will be quite right to let them come to this end without expressing our thanks to all those who have come and spoken to us and who have brought us so much information on the subject which is paramount in our minds to-day. I do not feel that it would be right if I did not give some acknowledgment to the members of the Committee whose work has been

untiring during the two months of preparation for this conference and for the mass meeting.

I desire to express my thanks to the Secretary of these Conferences and all those who have so ably assisted in the Conferences and the Mass Meeting.

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